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A COMPLETE
HISTORY
OF
ENGLAND,

FROM THE
DESCENT of JULIUS CÆSAR,
TO THE
TREATY of AIX LA CHAPELLE, 1748.

Containing the TRANSACTIONS of
One Thousand Eight Hundred and Three Years.

By T. SMOLLETT, M.D.

THE THIRD EDITION.

VOLUME THE FIFTH.

Non tamen pigebit vel incondita ac rudi voce memoriam prioris servitutis, ac
testimonium præsentium bonorum composuisse. TACIT. Agricola.

L O N D O N:

Printed for JAMES RIVINGTON and JAMES FLETCHER, at the
Oxford-Theatre; and R. BALDWIN, at the Rose, in Paternoster-row.

MDCCLVIII.

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THE
HISTORY
OF
ENGLAND.

BOOK FOURTH.



HENRY VI.

Surnamed of WINDSOR.

AS soon as Charles found himself in a condition to renew the war, he, in the name of the duke of Bretagne, surpris'd the castle of Couches, and Pont-de-l'Arche in Normandy, Gerbay in the Beauvoisis, Cognac and St. Maigrin in Guienne. The English complain'd of the violation of the truce; but were given to understand, these were acts of reprisal on account of Fougeres. Thus the war recommenced, at a time when the duke of Somerset was altogether unprovided with troops to defend the English possessions; so that the field was left free for Charles to extend his conquests. His principal aim was to reduce Normandy to his obedience: for which purpose he had prepared four different armies, one of which he headed in person; the command of another he bestowed upon the count de Dunois, lately created count of Longueville;

A. C. 1449.
The progress
of the French
king in
Normandy.

A. C. 1449. ville; the duke of Alençon conducted the third; and the duke of Brittany commanded the fourth, totally composed of his own forces. All the places in Normandy were ill provided with garrisons and ammunition, and the majority of the governors confiding in the truce, had repaired to England; so that Charles met with very little opposition in subduing the province. Many places surrendered at sight of the French army. In some towns the inhabitants expelled the English garrisons; others were sold by their commanders. None of them made any resistance but Pont-audemer, and Chateau-gaillard; in a word, before the end of the campaign, Charles was in a condition to besiege the capital of Rouen, which was invested on the eighth day of October.

He takes
Rouen, and
reduces the
whole pro-
vince.

He did not think it necessary to undertake the siege in form, because he knew that the duke of Somerset and the earl of Shrewsbury, who commanded the garrison, which did not exceed three thousand men, would not be able to defend the place against the inhabitants; for he carried on a correspondence with the townsmen, and they assured him that they would take arms in his favour. On the first day of the siege, the count of Dunois was on the point of being introduced with three hundred men, when Shrewsbury chancing to come up, had the good fortune to repulse the detachment. This miscarriage did not alter the resolution of the inhabitants, who, on the nineteenth day of October, rose as one man, and opened the gates to the besiegers. All the regent could do, was to station the garrison at the principal posts of the city, from which, however, they were soon dislodged. Somerset and Shrewsbury retreated to the palace with eight hundred men; but, as they foresaw their provision would soon fail, the duke demanded a parley with king Charles. This being granted, he offered

to

to retire on honourable conditions; but the king A. C. 1449. insisted upon his surrendering at discretion, unless he had a mind to treat for the rest of Normandy that remained in the hands of the English. Thus repulsed, the duke retired to the palace, which he defended twelve days; at the expiration of which he saw himself obliged to capitulate, on condition of leaving all his artillery, paying fifty thousand crowns of gold, and restoring to the French king Caudebec, Arques, Lillebonne, Tancarville, Montrevilliers, and Harfleur. The earl of Shrewsbury remained as hostage for the performance of these articles; and the English garrison marched out of Rouen, which Charles entered in triumph on the nineteenth day of November. As the governor of Harfleur did not think himself obliged to submit to the capitulation, the count de Longueville was detached with the army to form the siege of that place, which surrendered about the beginning of January. Although Charles had a right to detain the earl of Shrewsbury, as the capitulation of Rouen had not been observed by the English, he, in token of esteem for the earl's character, released him without ransom. During these transactions, the count de Foix, who commanded for Charles in Guienne, reduced the castle of Mauleon, which was situated on a rock, and deemed almost impregnable; and thus ended the first campaign, so fatal to the English interest.

*Hist. de
Ch. VII.*

These disasters were the more severely felt at the court of England, as they were followed by a rebellion in Ireland, which hindered the ministry from sending the necessary supplies to France. A. C. 1450. Nevertheless, the queen and the duke of Suffolk hoped to derive some advantage from that insurrection. They seized this opportunity of removing the duke of York, on pretence of creating him

Murmurs
against the
queen and
the duke of
Suffolk.

A. C. 1450. governor of Ireland, where they thought he would perish. But he baffled their expectation; and, by his obliging and insinuating manners, not only appeased the commotion, without drawing his sword, but even engaged the people of that country in his interest, to which they continued firmly attached in the sequel. The loss of Normandy in one campaign, after so much blood and treasure had been expended in the conquest of that province, together with the rapid progress of Charles in other parts of France, began to produce a violent fermentation in the impatient humour of the English. The whole kingdom resounded with complaints against the duke of Suffolk, who was publicly reproached with having betrayed the state, and co-operated with the queen in favour of the French monarch. The council consisted wholly of their creatures, who likewise filled all the posts of dignity and profit. The duke of Somerset, who had contracted for the defence of Normandy, was accused of having misapplied the money payed for that service. A numerous body of men at arms having been raised by Humphrey duke of Buckingham, on condition that they should receive a whole year's pay advance; the treasurer refused to comply with the terms of the contract, and the duke returning to court from the sea-side, when they were ready to embark, resigned his commission, saying publicly to the king, "Sir, take heed of your government; you are
 " misled by traitors: and if I had landed in Nor-
 " mandy with your forces, I am persuaded we
 " should have been sold to the enemy." Suffolk being present, and supposing this declaration aimed at him, was so incensed that he drew his dagger, and would have slain Humphrey, had not the by-standers interposed. This insolent behaviour, in the royal presence, roused even the indignation of Henry, who could scarce be dissuaded from send-
 ing

ing him to the Tower; and it served to complete A. C. 1450. the aversion of the nobility and people, who not only exclaimed against the queen and him in all public places, but also published a great number of libels, affixing them to the doors of churches, and every remarkable place in the city of London.

Tho' this was a very dangerous conjuncture for the ministry to call a parliament, the necessities of the crown were so urgent, that they had been obliged to summon one in November of the preceding year. But it proved very backward in the article of supply, and seemed strongly disposed to prosecute the duke of Suffolk. It had been for these reasons prorogued from Westminster to London; and, during this interval, the city was filled with tumult and confusion. The populace murdered Adam Molyns bishop of Chichester, who had been concerned in the cession of Le Maine; and that prelate, in his last moments, charged Suffolk with having boasted in the council, of his great influence at the French court. When the parliament met after this adjournment, the duke thinking it was incumbent on him to vindicate his character in this particular, harrangued both houses, in a speech containing an enumeration of the services of himself and his family, and a vehement profession of his loyalty; and he concluded with defying all the world to prove him guilty of disloyalty or misconduct. The commons, far from being intimidated by this declaration, petitioned the crown that Suffolk might be committed to ward, according to law, until he should clear himself of the crimes charged upon him by common fame and report. The judges being consulted on the nature of this petition, were of opinion, that as no special matter of slander or infamy was declared, he should not be committed. The commons, informed of this decision, represented next day a special matter of report; namely,

Who is impeached by the commons.

A. C. 1450. that the realm of England would be sold to France ; and that preparations were making in that kingdom for an invasion, by contrivance of the duke of Suffolk, who had fortified Wallingford-castle, to serve as a place of refuge. On the seventh day of February, the commons, by their speaker, impeached Suffolk of divers articles of treason, contained in a bill delivered to the chancellor, importing, That he had consulted with the count of Dunois, Bertrand de Preffigny, and W. Cousinat, the king's enemies, advising them to incite the French king to invade England, depose Henry, and raise to the throne his son John de la Pole, who, by marrying Margaret, daughter and heir to John late duke of Somerset, might claim the crown in her right, as next heir to Henry, who had no issue : That he had received money and promises from the duke of Orleans, to persuade the king to consent to his enlargement, that he might assist Charles in the recovery of France : That, by his instigation, the duke of Orleans had prevailed upon the French king to violate the truce, and renew the war in Normandy : That he had, without sufficient power, engaged for the cession of Le Maine ; and, after his return, executed that engagement, which was the cause of Normandy's being lost to the English nation : That he had discovered the secrets of the king's council to the count de Dunois, and other French ambassadors : That he had made them acquainted with the state of all the French fortresses belonging to the English in France ; discovered the secret instructions of the English envoys sent to treat of a peace between the two crowns ; boasted of his credit with Charles ; received bribes from the enemy, for hindering reinforcements from being sent to the continent ; and in the truce which he concluded, not only neglected comprehending the king of Arragon, the old ally of England, but included the duke of Bretagne

tagne as ally of France; a circumstance which had detached that prince intirely from the interest of the English.

This bill of articles was presented to Henry, who had already ordered Suffolk to be committed; and nothing more was done in this affair till the seventh day of March, when the lords agreed, that the duke should be called to his answer. In two days after this resolution, some of the lords going to the house of commons, were presented with seventeen new articles against the duke of Suffolk, to be delivered to his majesty. These amounted only to misdemeanors; charging him with having, in quality of a privy counsellor, advised the king to make such lavish grants of the crown lands, that a sufficiency was not left to defray the expences of the household: with having procured grants of privileges and franchises, to obstruct the execution of the laws, and screen offenders from justice: with having procured for the Captal de Buche his son-in-law, the earldom of Kendal, and lands in Guienne to the value of a thousand pounds a year, violently taken from the lawful possessors; with having advised grants of castles and lordships in Guienne, so as to weaken the power of the crown in that country: with having maintained an intelligence in France, touching the treaty between England and the count of Armagnac; by which means that negotiation was rendered ineffectual, the count ruined, and the Gascon lords were oppressed, until they submitted to the French government: with having procured offices and commands in France and Normandy, for unworthy persons: with having been the means of granting a toll on wine and merchandize brought down the Seine, to Peter de Breze, an enemy to the English nation: with having procured a grant of Evreux, Longueville, and other signories in Normandy, for the count of Dunois, Previgny, and the

A second set
of articles
preferred
against him.

A C. 1450.

A. C. 1456. the said Breze; grants, in consequence of which, the great towns were taken without resistance: with having brought the French ambassadors to a private conference with Henry, in which he agreed to a personal convention with Charles, and other articles stipulated without the consent or knowledge of the privy council: with having misapplied and embezzled subsidies: with having given away considerable sums of the public money to the queen of France, and the ministers of Charles: with having shared between himself and his adherents, sixty thousand pounds, being the produce of subsidies left in the exchequer by the lord Sudely, when he resigned his post and treasurer: with having procured for himself a grant of the county of Pembroke, the reversion of Haverfordwest, and other castles in Wales, together with the wardship and marriage of Margaret, daughter of John duke of Somerset: with having embezzled the bonds of the dutchess of Burgundy, and other persons bound for the ransom of the duke of Orleans: with having likewise embezzled writs, perverted justice, maintained bad causes, and impaired the antient friendship subsisting between the crown of England and the princes of the empire.

His banishment and death.

The duke of Suffolk having received a copy of these articles, was committed to a tower in the royal palace of Westminster; from whence being brought before the lords on the thirteenth day of March, to give in his answer, he kneeled down and declared the eight articles of high treason to be false and malicious. He observed, that the first, relating to Margaret, could not possibly be true, since she was not the next heir of the crown by law; and, he appealed to several lords, to vouch for his design of marrying his son to the duke of Warwick's daughter. With respect to the other articles, he referred to acts of council and parliament

ment for his justification; and affirmed, that the ^{A. C. 1450.} bishop of Chichester had misrepresented the words spoken by him in the Star-chamber. On the seventeenth day of March, the lords spiritual and temporal were assembled in the king's chamber. Suffolk being brought before them, kneeled down; and the chancellor asking, what he had to say in his own defence, he again protested he was innocent, affirmed the articles to be false, and submitted himself to the king's pleasure. Then the chancellor gave him to understand, that his majesty did not hold him convicted on the first bill of articles of high treason; and, as to the second, charging him with misprisions or misdemeanors, the king, by virtue of his submission, out of his own motion, and not by way of judgment, banished him the realm for the term of five years, during which, he should not abide in France, or any country under the French dominion; nor should he by word, deed, or writing, by himself, or his adherents, shew malice to the commons in parliament. At the same time, the lords joined the viscount Beaumont, in a protest, that this sentence was not the result of their advice, but, purely the king's own act, which should not at all derogate from their liberties in the case of peerage. The duke of Suffolk bore his sentence ^{Rot. Parl.} without repining; because, he saw it was the only expedient that could have been used for saving him from the fury of the incensed people. He therefore embarked for France; but, the vessel being searched in her passage, by one Nicholas, captain of an English cruiser, the unfortunate duke was discovered, and instantly beheaded without form of process. His body being thrown upon the sands ^f near Dover, was taken up and interred in the collegiate church of Wingfield in Suffolk.

Rot. Ek. 23.
H. VI.

The death of this nobleman was the prelude to a great many popular commotions. John Ayscough,
bishop

A. C. 1450.
 Infurrection
 of John
 Cade.

bishop of Sarum, was murdered in Wiltshire, Thomas Thany, a fuller, attempted to raise an infurrection in Kent, but was taken and executed at Canterbury. The whole nation was now in a ferment; and nothing was heard but complaints and menaces against the queen and ministry. The duke of York, who still remained in Ireland, being by Suffolk's fate freed from a powerful antagonist, resolved to improve the popular discontent for his own advantage; but, before he would personally appear in support of his pretensions, he thought it would be necessary to prepare the nation for his design, by exciting their affection for the house of Mortimer. For this purpose, he employed an Irishman, called John Cade, who had served under him as a soldier in France, to raise a sedition in England in favour of the family of March, that their title, which had lain dormant so long, might once more attract the attention of the public. Cade, who was a man of undaunted resolution, great cunning, and some discernment, being properly instructed by the duke's agents, assumed the name of John Mortimer, pretending to be son of Sir John Mortimer, who was beheaded for treason in the last reign; and, repairing to the county of Kent, in which the duke of York had a great number of partisans, he assembled a strong body of malcontents, on pretence of reforming the government and easing the people of their taxes. The number of his followers increased in a few days to such a degree, that he thought himself in a condition to execute his scheme; and approaching London, encamped on Blackheath. The king, being informed of this commotion, sent a message to demand the cause of their assembling in arms; and, Cade answered, in the name of the community, that they had no intention to hurt the person of his majesty; but, their design was to address the parliament, that evil ministers might be brought

brought to condign punishment, and the people be allowed to live more happily than they had lived since the beginning of Suffolk's ministry. They accordingly presented two addresses to parliament, explaining the grievances of the nation; and, among other things, demanded that the duke of Somerset should be punished for the loss of Normandy; and, that the king's council might be composed of the princes of the blood, and other wise and worthy persons; not by vicious wretches, void of virtue and capacity. These petitions being communicated to the king, the council deemed them seditious; and resolved to suppress the insurrection by force of arms. Henry, having assembled a body of fifteen thousand men, marched at their head towards Blackheath. At his approach Cade retired, as if he had been afraid of an engagement, and lay in ambush in a wood, not doubting but that he should be pursued by the king's whole army; but, Henry believing they were totally dispersed, returned towards London, after having sent a detachment in pursuit of the fugitives, under the command of the lord Strafford, who falling into the ambuscade, was cut in pieces with all his followers. Cade, immediately after this action, began his march to London, while the king and court leaving a garrison in the Tower, commanded by the lord Scales, retired with precipitation to the castle of Kenilworth. The city of London, intimidated by the success of the insurgents, opened its gates at their approach; and, Cade entered in triumph, at the head of his forces, which had been considerably increased since his late advantage. But, he forbade his followers, on the most severe penalties, to commit the least disorder, or give any cause of complaint to the inhabitants. Next day, being informed that the treasurer, lord Say, was in the city, he caused him to be apprehended and beheaded,

A. C. 1450.

headed, without any form of trial; and, in the evening retired to the Borough of Southwark. For some days, he continued the practice of entering the city in the morning, and quitting it at night, that he might not give umbrage to the burghers, with whom he lived at first in very good understanding. But, at length, the insurgents having plundered some houses, and committed other outrages, Cade, one morning, found the gate of the bridge shut and secured against him. Endeavouring to force his way, an engagement ensued between the rebels and citizens, which lasted all day, and was not interrupted until the combatants could see no longer to fight. The archbishop of Canterbury, and the chancellor, who had taken refuge in the Tower, being informed by their emissaries of the disposition of the insurgents, who were disheartened by this check, and heartily tired of rebellion, drew up an act of amnesty, confirmed by the sanction of the great seal, and found means to publish it by night in the Borough of Southwark. The effect of this expedient was so sudden and surprising, that by day-break, Cade saw himself abandoned by the greater number of his followers, and retreated to Rochester, where the rest of them dispersed, notwithstanding all his remonstrances and artful speeches, in which he endeavoured to persuade them, that the pardon was ineffectual, without the authority of parliament. Thus deserted, Cade was obliged to fly alone into the wolds of Kent; and a price being set upon his head by proclamation, he was discovered, and slain by Alexander Eden, who for this service was recompenced with the government of Dover castle.

Fabian.
Stowe.
Grafton.

The French
King expels
the English
from Nor-
mandy and
Guienne.

While the peace of England was interrupted by this insurrection, the war continued in France; but, still to the disadvantage of the English. The queen perceiving, that the dissatisfaction of the people

pro;

proceeded in a great measure from the misfortunes of the English arms in that kingdom, had made an effort to retrieve her credit, by sending a reinforcement of four thousand men, under the command of Sir Thomas Kyrle, who landed at Cherbourg in Normandy; and proceeded for Caen, where the duke at that time resided. In his march he was joined by several small detachments from English garrisons in that neighbourhood, and took Valognes, after a siege of three weeks. The constable of Richemont informed of these operations, assembled a body of seven thousand men, and posted himself at Fourmigni, to intercept the English in their route. Kyrle, tho' greatly inferior in number, attacked them without hesitation; but, after an obstinate engagement, his troops were defeated, and he himself remained in the hands of the enemy. This reinforcement being destroyed, the duke of Somerset was obliged to keep within the walls of Caen, and see the French extend their conquests without opposition. The towns of Vere, Bayeux, St. Sauveur le Vicomte, Valognes, Avranches, and Tombelaine, surrendered almost without resistance; and, upon the seventh day of June, the city of Caen was invested. The garrison consisted of four thousand men inured to service; but, the duke capitulated to surrender the place, if not relieved by the first day of July, on condition, that the garrison should be at liberty to retire with their effects to England. Falaise being invested at the same time, Sir Andrew Trollop, who commanded the garrison consisting of fifteen hundred men, capitulated on the same conditions; and the reduction of Cherbourg, the garrison of which submitted on the twelfth day of August, finished the entire conquest of Normandy. In the month of September, the count de Dunois was sent with a detachment into Guienne, where he reduced Bergerac, Jenfac, Montferrand,

A. C. 1450. ferrand, St. Foy, and Chalais, before the end of the campaign. In May he took the field again ; and in the course of that month took Montguyon, Blay, Bourg, Fronfac, Libourne, and Castillon in Perigord : and Bourdeaux was surrendered by capitulation, because not relieved before Midsummer. This was the case with all the places in that neighbourhood. Dax was reduced by the counts of Foix and Armagnac, the lord of Albret, and other Gascon barons ; and Bayonne, which was blocked up by sea and land, submitted on the twenty-sixth day of August. Thus, the whole province of Guienne fell under the dominion of Charles, after it had been united three hundred years to the crown of England. The towns were well affected to the English government ; but, the great lords, tempted with the hope of preferment at the court of France, co-operated with the efforts of Charles, in wresting this country from the king of England, who was now dispossessed of every foot of land which his ancestors had acquired in France, except Calais and its dependencies.

Hist. de
Charles VII.

The duke of
Somerfet
committed
to the
Tower.

When the duke of Somerset returned to England, the parliament was sitting ; and the outcry against him was so loud and universal, that the commons could not help taking some notice of his conduct. They accordingly presented an address to his majesty, desiring, that the regent might be committed to the Tower, until his behaviour in France could be properly examined. Henry did not think it prudent to refuse the request of the commons at such a juncture ; and the populace were so transported with joy at the news of the duke's commitment, that they went immediately to his house, which they pillaged : and, notwithstanding a proclamation issued to disperse them, continued in a body, doing abundance of mischief, until some of their leaders were apprehended, and hanged in terrorem. The commons

mons then petitioned Henry, to remove from his presence Edmund duke of Somerset; Alicé dutchess dowager of Suffolk, William Bothe bishop of Chester, John Sutton, lord Dudley; and others; but, Henry amused them with an equivocal answer. Then they brought in an act of attainder for corrupting the blood, and confiscating the lands of the late duke of Suffolk; but, this act was rejected by the king: and the humour of the commons growing every day more and more obstinate, the parliament was dissolved, without having granted any supply. Immediately after their separation, the duke of Somerset was released, and succeeded Suffolk in the ministry, as well as in the queen's favour.

A. C. 1450.

Rot. Parli

The court was now involved in great perplexity and uneasiness about the duke of York, who was supposed to have excited the late insurrection, and to be employed in hatching other more dangerous schemes against the government. The sudden death of Cade had prevented any confession, of which they might have taken the advantage to the prejudice of Richard; whom they could not now arrest without incurring the imputation of injustice; but, as they were apprehensive of his raising an army in Ireland, to support his title to the crown, the king issued orders to the sheriffs of Wales, Shropshire, and Cheshire, to assemble each his different posse, and oppose his landing. This was a very impolitic precaution, as it not only published his apprehension of the duke of York, which it was his interest to conceal; but, it alarmed the duke so as to put him on his guard, and furnished him with a plausible pretext to take arms in his own defence. As the duke had not yet formed any digested project, nor taken the least step that could be construed into a misdemeanour, he wrote a letter to Henry, complaining of his suspicion as injurious,

A. C. 1451.

Intrigues of
the duke of
York.

A. C. 1451. and calculated for a pretence to ruin his character and fortune. He received a mild answer from the king, who promised, that he should have satisfaction; but in the mean time the orders were not recalled. Tho' Cade's enterprize had not succeeded, the duke of York did not fail to reap considerable advantages from that insurrection. The great number of people who joined or favoured that cause, plainly demonstrated, that the nation was full of malcontents; and, that the title of the house of March was still remembered with regard. He conceived fresh hopes from these considerations; believing, that if the very name of a person belonging to that family had armed such a number in his cause, he who was a prince of the blood royal, and the lawful representative of Mortimer, could not fail to raise the better part of the kingdom in support of his pretensions. That he might not, however, ruin his project by too much precipitation, he resolved to consult his friends, before he would engage in an enterprize of such moment; and, when the term of his government in Ireland was expired, he embarked for England, in order to confer with them upon this subject. Notwithstanding the vigilance of the sheriffs, he landed without opposition, and repaired to London, where his adherents waited for him with impatience. The principal of these were, John Mowbray duke of Norfolk; Richard Nevil earl of Salisbury, in right of his wife, daughter to him who was slain at the siege of Orleans; his son Richard Nevil, afterwards earl of Warwick, by his marriage with Anne Beauchamp, daughter of that earl who died in France; Thomas Courtney, earl of Devonshire, the son in-law of the duke of Somerset; and Edward Brook, baron of Cobham.

The duke of
York retires
to Wales.

The court being on a progress to the western counties, these confederates had an opportunity of concerting their measures without molestation; and the

the result of their conferences was, that the duke of York should retire to Wales, where the house of March had always great influence, and secure the assistance of his friends, in such manner, that he should be able to assemble an army at pleasure. These previous steps being taken, he should write to the king, informing him of the discontents of the people; and, desiring that justice might be done upon the duke of Somerset. According to this resolution, he retired; and having secured the people of Wales in his interest, wrote a remonstrance to Henry, importing, that the whole kingdom was disgusted at his conduct in countenancing traitors; and, that he could not help taking the liberty of advising him to prevent the fatal consequences of popular dissatisfaction. He exhorted him to bring delinquents to justice; and in particular, to give up the duke of Somerset, who, tho' accused by the house of commons, had been set at liberty, and re-established in his majesty's favour, without having undergone the least examination; and, in case the king should be disposed to grant that satisfaction to the people, he offered to assist him with all his power in the execution of such a laudable design. The court easily perceived, that he wanted no more than a pretence for revolting; and, as they were resolved, that the odium of a rupture should not lie with them, the king favoured him with a civil answer, in which he assured him, that he had laid down a resolution to reform the abuses of his government; for which purpose, he was determined to choose a certain number of wise and virtuous counsellors, among whom the duke of York should be one of the first; that no traitor should be countenanced, or even pass with impunity; but, the punishment of such delinquents being an affair of great consequence, required the most mature deliberation: as to the duke of Somerset, in particular,

A. C. 1451. he should be brought to answer any accusations laid
 Stowe's An- to his charge in a legal manner.

A. C. 1452. This was such an instance of condescension, as
 The duke of deprived the duke of York of all pretence of taking
 York ad- up arms. Nevertheless, as he had prepared an army,
 vances with and looked upon this shew of moderation as a lure
 an army to and looked upon this shew of moderation as a lure
 Brentheath. to decoy him into blind security, he resolved to
 prosecute his design of removing the duke of So-
 merfet from the council, and proceed or desist as he
 himself should see it convenient or practicable. He
 therefore assembled his troops, and began his march
 for London ; but, he did not find the court so un-
 prepared as he had imagined : the queen no sooner
 understood that he had retired to Wales, than
 guessing his design, she began to levy forces in the
 king's name, without mentioning the service for
 which they were destined ; so that the duke had
 scarce begun his march, when he received intelli-
 gence, that the king was advancing at the head of
 an army to give him battle. Surprised at this infor-
 mation, he did not think proper to expose himself
 to the issue of an engagement, until he should be
 furnished with a better pretext for fighting against
 his sovereign. He hoped the people would espouse
 his cause, and was very desirous of engaging the
 city of London in his interest, before he should
 venture to declare his real design. He therefore,
 instead of waiting for the king's approach, changed
 his route ; and, by forced marches arrived before
 him at London, where he expected to be received
 with open arms. He had the mortification, how-
 ever, to find the gates shut upon him, and the
 inhabitants determined against taking any step in
 his favour, while the king was at his heels with a
 more numerous army than that which he com-
 manded. In this emergency, he was obliged to
 pass the Thames at Kingston, and intrench himself
 at Brentheath, at the distance of twelve miles from
 London.

London. The king following him by the way of London bridge, encamped within four miles of him; and sent two bishops to know the cause of his appearing in arms against the government. A. C. 1453.

The duke, disappointed in one part of his expectations, resolved to temporize, that he might not ruin his affairs by too much precipitation. He replied, that his intention was not to renounce his obedience to the king, but solely to remove from him all evil counsellors, of whom the duke of Somerset was the principal; and that if his majesty would commit that nobleman to prison, and detain him in confinement till the meeting of the next parliament, he would immediately disband his forces. He concluded, that his demand would be rejected by the king and queen, as they were entirely governed by the person against whom he had remonstrated; and he hoped their refusal would be of great service to his cause, in demonstrating the queen's resolution to involve the nation in a civil war, rather than part with her minion, who was odious to the whole kingdom. Here again, he was mistaken in his conjecture. The king immediately accepted the proposal, assuring him, that Somerset should be sent to the Tower; and, that nobleman was immediately put under an arrest. The duke of York was not a little surprised at this condescension, and wished he could have revoked his engagement; but, as he could not retract without declaring his real aim too openly, he determined to run some risque in his own person, rather than forfeit the favour of the people, on which his chief hope of success was founded. Without the least hesitation he disbanded his troops; and visited the king, tho' unprovided with any security for the safety of his person. When he was introduced to his majesty, he accused the duke of Somerset as a traitor who had sacrificed the interest of the kingdom

The duke of York disbands his forces,

A. C. 1452. dom to his avarice and ambition. The duke, who stood concealed in the tent, hearing his character thus impeached, quitted his hiding-place; and not only denied the charge with great warmth, but in his turn, taxed York with a traitorous design to dethrone his majesty. Richard, seeing his antagonist at liberty in the king's tent, after having been assured, that he was in confinement, perceived he had been duped; and at once comprehended the danger of his own situation. Nevertheless, without appearing disconcerted, he complained of the deceit which had been practised upon him by the suggestions of the duke of Somerset, on whom he affected to lay the blame of this double-dealing. The court was at very little pains to excuse the collusion; and when York took his leave of Henry, and would have retired, he was arrested by the king's order. If his enemies had followed the impulse of their animosity, he never would have extricated himself from the snare in which he was entangled by his own imprudence: but, several circumstances concurred towards his preservation. The queen and Somerset dreaded the resentment of the people, among whom he had acquired great influence and favour. The court had received false intelligence, that his son Edward, the young earl of March, accompanied by all the friends of the family, was at the head of a strong army advancing to the duke's assistance; and, at this very juncture, deputies arrived from Gascony, with offers of renouncing the dominion of France, if the king of England would send a body of troops for their support. They foresaw, that the death of the duke of York would involve them in a civil war, which, exclusive of other consequences, would hinder them from sending a supply of forces for the recovery of Guienne. These considerations induced them to set the duke at liberty, tho' the safety of themselves and

and the house of Lancaſter ſeemed to demand the ſacrifice of his life; but, before his enlargement, they compelled him to take a new oath of allegiance, by which he obliged himſelf to remain faithful to Henry till death, and promiſed he would never take arms againſt him on any pretence whatſoever; then he was permitted to retire to his eſtate of Wigmore, and the duke of Somerſet continued to enjoy his influence at court without a rival.

A. C. 1452.

Stowe.
Speed.

King Henry was not more diſturbed by the influence and deſigns of York, than Charles of France was perplexed and chagrined with the conduct of the dauphin, who was proud, turbulent, and ambitious. He reſided in Dauphiné, where he acted as ſovereign, and payed very little regard to the orders of his father. He had even demanded in marriage Yolante, daughter to the duke of Savoy; and that prince had granted his requeſt, without deigning to intimate the deſign to king Charles, who was ſo much incenſed at their preſumption, that he aſſembled an army of thirty thouſand men, and marched towards Lyons, to chaſtiſe his ſon, and puniſh the duke of Savoy for this contempt of his character and authority: but he was diverted from his purpoſe by an unexpected revolution in Guienne. The Gaſcons had acknowledged the French dominion for no other reaſon than that of being left deſtitute of reſource by the Engliſh; and the army of Charles had no ſooner quitted Guienne, than the nobility, in concert with the inhabitants of Bourdeaux, reſolved to recal their ancient maſters. For this purpoſe they ſent deputies to London; and as ſoon as the commotions were appeaſed, the queen and council deliberated upon their propoſals, which they approved. They concluded, that the ſucceſs of ſuch an enterprize would raiſe their credit among the people; and they determined to ſend over a body of forces, under the command of the re-

Talbot earl
of Shrewſ-
bury is ſent
with a re-
inforcement
to Guienne.

A. C. 1452

nowned Talbot earl of Shrewsbury, who had lately returned from a voyage to Italy. Though he was now fourscore years of age, he engaged in the service with his usual alacrity, and immediately embarked with seven hundred men at arms, leaving the rest of the troops destined for that expedition, to follow with the first opportunity. He landed near Bourdeaux on the twenty-first day of October; and next day, being introduced into that city by the burghers, surprised and took the greater part of the French garrison. Being joined in a few days by the rest of the troops from England, he took the field at the head of seven thousand men, and reduced Fronsac and Castillon, together with some other places, before he was obliged to put his troops into winter-quarters.

Pere Daniel.

A. C. 1453.

The earl of
Shrewsbury
is defeated
and slain in
the battle of
Castillon.

Charles was at Lyons when he received the disagreeable news of Talbot's arrival and progress; and immediately altered his resolution with regard to the dauphin, that he might unite all his endeavours for the preservation of Guienne. He approved of the match between his son and Yolante; and bestowed one of his own daughters on the prince of Piedmont. He resolved to send all his forces into Guienne in the spring; and in the mean time detached a body of ten thousand men, under the command of Chabanes and the count de Penthievre, who, arriving in Saintonge, invested Chalain and Castillon, while the count de Clermont followed with the rest of the army. Chabanes having reduced Chalain in the beginning of June, joined Penthievre before Castillon, which continued to make a vigorous defence; and the dread of Talbot's valour and experience induced them to fortify their camp with lines, palisadoes, and artillery.

The earl of Shrewsbury remained in the neighbourhood of Bourdeaux with six or seven thousand men, and wavered in his resolutions. He ardently

wished to relieve the place, but was apprehensive of finding it impracticable, considering the strength of the French camp, and the superiority of their number. On the other hand, knowing that the count of Clermont was on his march, he thought there was a necessity for striking some desperate blow before the arrival of that general, otherwise he should never have an opportunity of acting with any prospect or success against their united efforts. This consideration determined him to hazard an attack against the two officers employed in the siege of Castillon; and he forthwith began his march for this purpose. He at once defeated a body of four thousand men, commanded by Chabanes on the outside of the intrenchments; and, in spite of the cannon of the enemy, which destroyed the English in heaps, he charged the lines with such amazing impetuosity, that they would certainly have been forced, had not a body of cavalry quitted the intrenchments at a different place, and fallen upon the rear of the English, who now found themselves surrounded on all sides, and exposed to the fire of a very numerous train of artillery. Shrewsbury, though overwhelmed with old age, behaved with all the vigour and activity of youth; and his son the lord L'Isle approved himself worthy of such a valiant father; but all their efforts proved ineffectual, and the earl, seeing his defeat inevitable, scorned to outlive his disgrace. He conjured his son to retire while yet there was a possibility of escaping, that he might reserve his courage for the occasions of his country; but that gallant youth disdained the thoughts of leaving his father in the power of his enemies, and declared, that as they had fought, they should fall together. They accordingly rushed into the thickest of the battle; where the earl's horse being killed by a cannon-ball, he fell to the ground, and as he lay was transfix'd by a bayonet, while the lord L'Isle
lost

A. C. 1453. lost his own life, in attempting to save that of his parent. The English were so discouraged by the fate of this renowned chief, that they betook themselves to flight, leaving twelve hundred of their fellow-soldiers dead on the field of battle; and the lord Molins, with about two hundred officers and soldiers, were taken prisoners. This defeat was attended with the surrender of Castillon, and the arrival of the count de Clermont with the rest of the army; then Charles, repairing to the camp, divided his forces into four different bodies, which at the same time invested Cadillac, Libourne, Fronsac, and Bourdeaux. All these places were taken with very little difficulty, except the last, which held out till the seventeenth day of October, when the garrison capitulated, and were allowed to return to England. Thus the English were again expelled from Guienne; and of all the conquests made by Edward III. in France, nothing remained but the towns of Calais and Guisnes, which Charles was not yet able to reduce.

Hist. de Ch.
VII.

Proceedings
in parlia-
ment.

A parliament had met on the sixth day of March, when the first news of Talbot's success arrived in England; and the members were so well pleased with his conduct, that they granted considerable subsidies for the prosecution of the war in Guienne. They voted twenty thousand archers, leaving the nomination of the officers to the king; but seven thousand of these were afterwards remitted, and the whole levy suspended, until the king should be in a condition to go over and head them in person. Besides these supplies, the duke of Somerset obtained a grant of nine thousand three hundred pounds for repairing the fortifications of Calais; and provision was made for the prompt payment of the garrison. Edmund of Hadham, and Jasper of Hatfield, sons of queen Catherine by Owen Tudor, were declared uterine brothers of the king; the first
was

was created earl of Richmond, and the other earl of Pembroke, with right of precedence above all earls in council and parliament. In this session Thomas Yonge, citizen of Bristol and barrister at law, moved in the house of commons, that, as king Henry had no issue, the duke of York might be declared heir apparent of the crown; but he was committed to the Tower for this motion, which was the more unseasonable as queen Margaret was some months advanced in her pregnancy, and on the thirteenth day of October delivered of a son called Edward, who was created prince of Wales and earl of Chester. These titles were confirmed by this parliament, which, though frequently prorogued, was not dissolved till the following year. Mean while Henry was seized with a violent distemper, which affected his mind as well as his body, and served to confirm reports to the prejudice of the queen's character. Some people were bold enough to say that the young prince was not begotten by Henry, who was impotent and infirm; others alledged that the child was altogether supposititious: though many, who were well-wishers to their country, not only acquitted the queen of all imputation, but conceived happy omens from the birth of this son, who they hoped would attach the mother more warmly than ever to the interest of England.

Rot. Parl.

The clamour against the queen and ministry was encouraged by the friends and emissaries of Richard duke of York, who, far from thinking himself bound by the oath which had been extorted from him during his confinement, persisted in his resolution to assert his pretensions to the crown, with the first convenient opportunity: but, as he did not think it would be politic to divulge his real design, until he should have secured a majority in the council, he resolved to renew his persecution against the duke of Somerset, who was either hated or envied by

The duke of Somerset is committed to the Tower.

A. C. 1453. by the whole nation : but even this aim he carefully concealed at the present juncture. The parliament had been adjourned to Reading, and afterwards to Westminster, for the fourteenth day of February, the king having suffered a dangerous relapse. In this interval, the secret friends of the duke of York, who still maintained the appearance of attachment to the court-party, insinuated to the queen and Somerset, that, considering the present ferment of the nation, they had very little reason to expect the parliament would be agreeable to their views ; that while the king enjoyed a good state of health the orders issued in his name were supposed to be dictated according to his will and direction ; but that, during the prevalence of his distemper, their administration would want the sanction of his authority ; and in all probability the parliament, in compliance with the sense of the nation, would appoint a new ministry. In order to prevent this misfortune, they observed that it would be necessary to admit into the council the duke of York, the earls of Salisbury and Warwick, and some other popular noblemen, to convince the public that they had no intention to govern by despotic authority. This advice appeared so plausible, that the queen and her favourite ran headlong into the snare ; those noblemen were created members of the council before the meeting of parliament. They no sooner gained footing in this new station, than they superseded the credit of their adversaries, and even ventured to arrest the duke of Somerset in the queen's chamber.

A. C. 1454. He was immediately committed prisoner to the Tower ; and the parliament was again prorogued to the fifteenth day of March, that the duke of York and his adherents might have time to tamper with the members. Mean while the council expedited a commission to the duke, empowering him to hold the session as the king's representative ; and the

the first days of that assembly were spent by the commons in preparing an impeachment against Somerset, for the loss of Normandy by his misconduct. On the second day of April, the great seal was committed to the charge of the earl of Salisbury. Next day the parliament appointed the duke of York protector of the realm, defender of the church, and first counsellor of the king, during the minority of Edward prince of Wales. York, being thus invested with the whole power of the administration, deprived his rival of the government of Calais, which he himself assumed by virtue of a commission in the name of Henry; and every body believed that the impeachment of Somerset would be carried on with equal vigour and dispatch: but it dragged on to the end of the year, and was delayed, in all probability, for want of sufficient evidence. In the beginning of the next year, the king recovering from his tedious distemper, the authority which had been vested in the duke of York ceased of course; and he did not as yet think his affairs ripe enough to dispute his majesty's pleasure. The administration therefore returned into its former channel; and the duke of Somerset was discharged from his confinement.

A. C. 1454.

Ret. Parl.

A. C. 1455.

As he had been committed by a simple order of the council, he might have been enlarged by the same authority, had not the impeachment of the commons intervened: so that he was obliged to find security; and the duke of Buckingham, with the earl of Wiltshire, and two knights, became his sureties; though they were afterwards discharged from their obligation, by a stretch of the prerogative contrary to the laws of the kingdom. The duke of York and his partisans now lost all their influence in the council, which reverted to the queen and Somerset, by virtue of the king's recovery. Some noblemen, dreading the fatal consequences of an open

He is released, and regains his influence in the council.

A.C. 1455.

open rupture between the dukes of York and Somerset, interposed their good offices towards an accommodation. As it was the interest of both to keep terms with the public, they agreed to refer their dispute to arbitration, and bound themselves to submit to the decision of the arbiters, in the penalty of twenty thousand marks, provided the sentence should be pronounced by the twentieth of June. While this affair was depending, the duke of Somerset represented to the king, that, as he had been deprived of the government of Calais on a simple accusation, the particulars of which had never been proved, it was not just that his adversary should continue possessed of his spoils, before the difference between them should be determined. The king, upon this remonstrance, divested the duke of York of this command, though his commission had been made out for the term of seven years; and, on pretence of observing a perfect neutrality between the two competitors, declared himself governor of Calais.

The duke of York, with the earls of Salisbury and Warwick, take the field.

This transaction gave such umbrage to York, that he retired from court, where he had nothing to expect but disgrace and opposition from the queen and Somerset, whom he resolved to attack in a more effectual manner than that of political intrigues. The release of his rival from the Tower, so contrary to law and the inclinations of the people, was a pretext which he hoped would engage the public in his interest; and this he used with all the success he could have expected. He repaired to Wales, where he levied a body of forces, and in a little time found himself at the head of a numerous army, with which he advanced towards the king, who had assembled his troops, and marched out of London to give him battle. The duke of York was accompanied by the earls of Salisbury and Warwick. These noblemen sent a letter from Royston to the king,

king, containing strong professions of zeal and attachment, demanding admission to his presence, that they might vindicate themselves from the calumnies of their enemies, and inform him of the misconduct of his ministers, who they desired might be tried and acquitted, or punished according to their innocence or demerit. This letter was inclosed in another to Thomas Bouchier, who had lately succeeded Kemp in the archbishopric of Canterbury; and this prelate sent it by a particular messenger to the king, but it was intercepted by Somerset, and Thomas Thorpe, lately created chancellor of the exchequer.

York and his associates renewed their request, when they arrived on the twenty-second day of May in the neighbourhood of St. Alban's; but it was rejected with disdain, and they were threatened with the penalties of high treason. The earl of Warwick, who commanded the van-guard, was so exasperated at this contemptuous treatment, that, without waiting for the duke's directions, he attacked the king's army so furiously, that it was soon thrown into confusion, notwithstanding all the efforts of Somerset. York, advancing in the mean time, charged with equal impetuosity in flank; so that they were totally routed with the loss of five thousand men. The duke of Somerset, the earl of Northumberland, the earl of Strafford, eldest son of the duke of Buckingham, the lord Clifford, and several officers of distinction, were slain upon the spot. The duke of Buckingham being wounded, retired from battle in the beginning of the engagement; and his retreat increased the disorder of the royalists. The king himself, having received an arrow in his neck, was abandoned by his army, and retired into a little house, where he was immediately invested. But the duke of York and his confederates were no sooner informed

The king is
defeated at
St. Alban's.

A. C. 1455. formed of his situation, than they ran thither, and falling on their knees before him, declared that the enemy of the public being now dead, they were entirely devoted to his service, and ready to obey his commands. The violence of Henry's fear was in some measure allayed by this declaration; and he begged, in the name of God, that they would put an end to the carnage. The duke immediately ordered a retreat to be sounded, and proclamation to be made for preventing the further effusion of blood. Then they conducted Henry to St. Alban's, from whence they accompanied him to London.

Stowe.

The duke of York declared protector.

At their desire writs were issued for calling a parliament, which met on the ninth day of July, when Henry declared from the throne, that he looked upon York, Salisbury, and Warwick, as his faithful lieges; and their late conduct was justified by the authority of both houses. They decreed, that the nation had been misgoverned by the queen and the duke of Somerset, who had abused the goodness and confidence of his majesty; that the late duke of Gloucester had been unjustly accused; that all alienations of estates belonging to the crown, which had been made since the first year of the king's reign, should be revoked; and that the mischief occasioned by the battle of St. Alban's should be imputed to Somerset and his adherents, who had concealed from his majesty the letter which would have prevented the engagement. The king was petitioned to nominate a protector, because his own indisposition hindered him from managing the affairs of the public; and this address was several times repeated, without their receiving any answer from Henry. At length the parliament was prorogued till the twelfth day of November; and by that time the king had signed a patent, expressing that, having been frequently intreated by both houses to appoint a protector, he had pitched upon the duke of York for

for that important office, until he should be discharged of it by parliament, or the young prince of Wales attain to the years of discretion. This session lasted a month, and then the parliament was prorogued till the fourteenth day of January. While the duke of York thus enjoyed his triumph, the queen did not behold his success with idle resignation. The interest of herself and family was too deeply concerned to admit of such indifference. Henry the new duke of Somerset, son of him who fell at St. Alban's, glowed with impatience to revenge the death of his father; the duke of Buckingham breathed nothing but vengeance for the loss of his son, who perished on the same occasion; and all the princes and noblemen, allied or attached to the house of Lancaster, perceiving the duke of York taking long strides towards the throne, resolved to exert all their endeavours to stop his progress. Notwithstanding this opposition, he lived in such A. C. 1455. seeming security as astonished his enemies. He thought he should run too great a risk in pretending openly to the crown, which had remained six and fifty years in the house of Lancaster; and therefore he waited for some favourable opportunity to broach his pretensions. His chief aim was to acquire the favour of the people, without which he foresaw all his efforts would prove ineffectual; and that they might see his conduct was not influenced by passion or interest, he left the king and queen at perfect liberty to act as they should think proper. He did not imagine it was in their power to divest him of the dignity of protector, which, according to his patent, could not be revoked but by the parliament: but the queen was too active and enterprising, to be deterred from her purpose by such slender obstacles.

The king having recovered his health, the enemies of the duke resolved to seize this opportunity to deprive him of his protectorship. The parlia-

A. C. 1456. ment reassembling, Henry appeared in person, and declared from the throne, that as he now enjoyed perfect health, and was in a condition to resume the reins of government, he did not think the kingdom had any further occasion for a protector: he therefore desired the parliament would discharge the duke of York from the toils of that troublesome office. Whether the two houses thought the request reasonable, or the members had been tutored for the purpose, they readily complied with his desire; and he sent an order to the duke to abstain from the function of protector. York was not a little confounded at finding himself thus over-reached; but, making a virtue of necessity, he and his adherents submitted with a good grace to the orders of the king and parliament. But, on pretence of their having no further business at court, they retired to Yorkshire, where they lived in the same neighbourhood. In a little time after they had withdrawn themselves an insurrection happened in London, occasioned by a quarrel between an English and Italian merchant; and the duke of Buckingham and Exeter, being empowered to try and punish the delinquents, were prevented by the populace from executing their commission. The queen suspecting that this tumult was excited by the partisans of the duke of York, and thinking the king's person was not safe in London, conveyed him to Coventry, on pretence of his enjoying the benefit of a change of air: though her real design in taking this route, was that she might be nearer the discontented lords, who had retired from the council. She had received intelligence of their holding several successive meetings in the North, and she resolved to arrest them, if possible, in Coventry, where they had fewer friends than in London. With this view she caused the king to write letters with his own hand, inviting them to court, where he had occa-

The queen
endeavours
to decoy
York and
his asso-
ciates to
Coventry.

sion

sion for their advice and assistance in an affair of the utmost consequence. As the duke of York and his associates had taken no step towards publishing his design upon the crown, but covered all their conduct with the pretext of patriotism, they resolved to comply with the invitation of Henry, who they imagined had at length opened his eyes with respect to the conduct of the queen and the ministry, and really desired their assistance, in order to reform the administration. They therefore set out for Coventry; but being apprized on the road of the queen's intentions, they suddenly changed their resolution, and separated immediately, in order to provide for their own safety. The duke of York hastened to his estate of Wigmore, on the borders of Wales; the earl of Salisbury retired to his own house in Yorkshire; and Warwick took shipping immediately for Calais, of which place he had continued governor since the battle of St. Albán's. Though the queen was mortified at her disappointment, she enjoyed the consolation of having parted three noblemen whose union was very dangerous to her interest. Stowe.

The mutual jealousy and machinations of the two parties were at this period interrupted by other considerations. As the English had formerly taken advantage of the divisions in France, to make conquests in that kingdom, Charles VII. resolved to follow the same maxims of policy, and profit by the quarrels that began to divide England. He prepared two squadrons to attack the kingdom in different parts. One of these pillaged the town of Sandwich, and the other made a descent upon Cornwall: but, as they were very ill provided with necessaries, they did not undertake any enterprize of importance, and this was rather an insult than an invasion; for their troops reembarked and returned to their own country, after having plundered a

*Invasion by
the French
and the
Scots.*

A. C. 1457. few inconsiderable villages. In all probability the French court had engaged the Scots to co-operate with its measures against England, as they invaded the northern counties, notwithstanding the truce subsisting between the two nations, and carried off a considerable booty. The truces were so ill observed on both sides, that a predatory war was generally carried on without intermission between the borderers; and the mutual incursions of private adventurers furnished continual pretences for infringing the truce or accommodation. The English authors alledge that this invasion was headed by king James in person, who retired at the approach of the earl of Northumberland; whereas the Scottish historians affirm that Piercy, and the earl of Douglas, at that time a refugee in England, entered Scotland and ravaged the country, until they were encountered and defeated by the earl of Angus and Sir James Hamilton. Be that as it will, the truce between the two kingdoms was renewed, and afterwards prolonged for four years, though both kings had been greatly incensed, and written outrageous letters to each other.

Rymer.

Reconciliation between the queen and the duke of York.

This dispute being happily terminated, Henry, who was of a mild, pacific disposition, and dreaded nothing so much as the revival of domestic troubles, pressed his queen to listen to terms of accommodation, to which she did not appear averse; nor indeed was it her interest to prosecute a quarrel with such powerful antagonists, at a juncture when her administration was so odious to the people. On the other hand, York and his confederates did not think their scheme ripe for an open revolt against the established king, who, though a prince of mean capacity, had, by the innocence of his life, and the piety of his devotion, acquired, if not the esteem, at least the good will of his subjects. They therefore lent a willing ear to the overtures of peace and

and reconciliation, which were made in the king's name, by the archbishop of Canterbury and other prelates; and both parties agreed to meet at London in January, that all disputes might be agreeably determined. Not but that the queen and York mutually distrusted each other's sincerity; and upon the duke's signifying his suspicion, the king consented to his coming with his friends in a posture of defence. Salisbury arrived at the time and place appointed with a retinue of five hundred men; York repaired to the congress with four hundred followers, and took up his quarters at Baynard's castle, while Salisbury resided at Cold harbour; on the fourteenth day of February, Warwick landed from Calais with six hundred men, and chose the Greyfriars for the place of his residence; the rest of the party lodged within the city. Somerset, Exeter, Northumberland, Egremont, and Clifford, came with numerous retinues, who were quartered in the suburbs; and the mayor of London, at the head of five thousand men, kept guard within the city, and patrolled through the streets, to maintain the public tranquillity. The conferences were begun; and, after some dispute, the warmth of which was moderated by the mediating bishops, the treaty was concluded to their mutual satisfaction. Some masses were founded for the souls of the people killed at St. Alban's, and a pecuniary satisfaction made to their heirs: both parties solemnly promised to lay aside their animosity, and live together in perfect friendship for the future; and the duke of York with his associates were readmitted into the council. The fifth day of April was appointed for a thanksgiving, and a solemn procession to St. Paul's church. The king, queen, and all the noblemen assisted on this occasion: those of different parties walked hand in hand, in token of amity, and the duke of York handed the queen,

A. C. 1455. who affected to treat him with public marks of
 Id. Ibid. esteem and confidence.

Another
 rupture.

Nevertheless, there was little sincerity on either side. The duke of York and his friends still dreaded some deceit or perfidy on the part of Margaret, who had formerly endeavoured to entrap them; and they quitted the court on various pretences. The duke and the earl of Salisbury repaired to York, and the earl of Warwick returned to his government of Calais. In his passage he fell in with some ships belonging to Genoa and Lubec, and a quarrel ensuing, in consequence of their refusing to pay proper deference to the English flag, he sunk some of the number, and carried the rest into Calais. The republic complained to the king of this outrage; his majesty appointed commissioners to enquire into the particulars, and Warwick was obliged to come over and justify his conduct. During his stay at London on this account, he occasionally assisted at council; and a domestic belonging to his train happening to quarrel one day with a servant of the king, who was wounded in the fray, all the retainers at court took to their arms, to revenge the insult offered to their companion. The delinquent having made his escape, they attacked the earl himself as he came from council; so that it was not without the greatest difficulty that he reached his boat, which waited for him on the side of the river, and which conveyed him to the city, after he had seen some of his followers killed in his defence. He forthwith conjectured that the queen had contrived this scheme for his destruction; and this conjecture was confirmed that same day, when he understood that the king had granted a warrant to commit him prisoner to the Tower. He received this intelligence time enough to elude the order; and retired to his father the earl of Salisbury, to consult about measures to be taken against the queen, upon

whose promises, oaths, and engagements, they would place no dependence. The father and son agreed in opinion, that this last attack was a snare laid by Margaret for the life of Warwick; and that as this nobleman was the idol of the soldiery, they should make it a pretence for declaring open war against the queen and her adherents. In these sentiments they visited the duke of York, who adopted their ideas on this subject; and they concerted their measures accordingly. Warwick returned immediately to Calais, in order to secure that fortress, and York began to levy forces in Wales, while Salisbury assembled five or six thousand men, with which he intended to advance to London, and demand satisfaction for the outrage committed against his son Warwick.

Mean while Margaret set out with the king on a progress into the counties of Warwick, Stafford, and Chester, in order to conciliate the affection of the people; and, by means of her artful behaviour and assumed affability, formed a strong association in behalf of herself and her son Edward. Understanding that the earl of Salisbury had raised a body of forces, and was on his march to join the duke of York in Herefordshire, she granted a commission to the Lord Audley to assemble troops, and prevent the junction of these noblemen. He accordingly levied ten thousand men, with whom he advanced against Salisbury, who had proceeded as far as Bloreheath on the borders of Staffordshire and Shropshire. Here the two armies came in sight of each other; and the earl, though his forces were not above half the number of the enemy, resolved to give them battle. They were parted by a rivulet; and on the twenty-third day of September, Salisbury made a feint of retreating, as if he had been afraid of an attack. Audley, on this supposition, passed the rivulet with great precipitation, in order to pursue

The royalists under the lord Audley, defeated by the earl of Salisbury at Bloreheath.

A. C. 1459.

A. C. 1459. the fugitives; and when part of his troops had crossed the brook, the earl, wheeling about all of a sudden, fell upon them with such impetuosity, before they could form, that, after an obstinate engagement, which lasted five hours, the royalists were utterly defeated, with the loss of their general and four and twenty hundred men, slain upon the field of battle.

Fabian.
Stowe.
Grafton.

The mal-
content
lords are
abandoned
ly their
army.

Salisbury, having thus opened his passage, marched into Wales, where he joined the duke of York, who was employed in raising an army for the prosecution of his design. The queen, in order to repair the damage she had sustained at Bloreheath, and oppose the progress of the malcontents, with whose motions she was perfectly well acquainted, exerted her endeavours with incredible activity, in assembling forces, and appointed the rendezvous at Coventry: while her enemies wrote to Warwick, desiring he would join them with some troops from Calais. On the receipt of his father's letter, he left that fortress under the command of his uncle the lord Falconbridge, and brought over part of the garrison, commanded by Sir Andrew Trollop, an officer of great reputation. The king's army being assembled, he began his march from Coventry towards Ludlow, where the rebels were encamped: and, halting at Gloucester, offered a pardon to the insurgents, provided they would lay down their arms. To this offer they replied, That they would not confide in such promises, which were no other than snares laid for their destruction; but that they were ready to submit to the king, provided he could find any security for the performance of his promise. Henry, having received this answer, superseded the earl of Warwick in the government of Calais, which he bestowed upon the duke of Somerset, and advanced to give battle to the malcontents. They wrote a letter to him, declaring that their sole view

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in taking up arms, was to defend themselves against the attempts of their enemies; that they had no intention to fight, unless forced to an engagement; that all they required was a reformation of the abuses which had crept into the government, through the misconduct of the ministry; and they besought his majesty to look upon them as his faithful subjects, who had no design to the prejudice of his person, and wished for nothing so much as to be reinstated in his favour. The queen, imputing all this submission to fear, approached within half a mile of them in the evening, resolved to give battle next day, and in the mean time dispersed through the enemy's camp a proclamation, promising pardon to all those who should lay down their arms and submit. This expedient produced a surprising effect: the troops of the duke of York, supposing, from the king's making such an offer, that he had a great superiority of strength, and that there was no time to be lost, began to disperse instantaneously. Sir Andrew Trollop, who now for the first time perceived that the duke of York had a design upon the crown, deserted in the night, with the detachment he commanded; and his example was followed by such a number, that the lords, fearing they should be wholly abandoned, before day-break consulted their safety in flight. The duke of York, with his second son the earl of Rutland, retired to Wales, where they embarked for Ireland; and the earl of Warwick hastened over to Calais, whither he was soon followed by his father Salisbury, and York's eldest son, the earl of March, at that time in the nineteenth year of his age. The officers and soldiers, who remained after the retreat of their chiefs, submitted to the mercy of the king, who dismissed them in peace, after having caused some of them to be put to death for example.

The parliament, assembling in the month of December, declared the duke of York and his adherents

A.C. 1459. rents guilty of high treason; their estates were confiscated, and they and their descendants rendered incapable of succeeding to any inheritance, even to the fourth generation. As soon as the session broke up, the duke of Somerset embarked with a body of troops, in order to take possession of Calais; but he met with such a reception as obliged him to land in another place, from which he marched to Guisnes, and there he sent out detachments to skirmish with the garrison of Calais, by whom his men were generally repulsed to their quarters. Warwick was so beloved by the nation in general, that when Somerset landed with his troops, the sailors steered their ships directly into the harbour of Calais. The queen being determined to wrest the government of this fortress from the hands of her enemies, equipped a fleet for the assistance of Somerset, and ordered a considerable body of troops to be put on board, under the command of the lord Rivers, and his son Sir Anthony Wideville. While the fleet lay in the harbour of Sandwich, waiting for a fair wind, the earl of Warwick, having received intelligence of their destination, manned the ships which had lately deserted to him, and embarking some troops, with Sir John Denham, they sailed to Sandwich, where they surprised Rivers and all his officers, who were conveyed to Calais, together with their ships; the sailors themselves favouring the enterprize. Warwick, being thus reinforced with shipping, sailed for Ireland, in order to consult the duke of York about the measures to be taken for another insurrection in England, where the people espoused their cause, and their friends expected them with impatience. The duke agreed with him in opinion that the lords at Calais should make a descent among their adherents and well wishers in the county of Kent, and proceed directly to the capital, which they did not doubt would receive them with open arms. The earl

Exploits of
the earl of
Warwick
by sea.

Rymer.

earl of Warwick, in his return to Calais, fell in with the English fleet, commanded by the duke of Exeter, who had lately superseded him in the post of admiral, and been sent out to intercept him in his passage: but the sailors and soldiers on board of the duke's squadron refusing to fight against their old commander, he, in order to prevent a total revolt, sailed into Dartmouth, where the greater part of his men deserted for want of pay and provision.

The queen and the ministry did not doubt but the interview between the duke of York and the earl of Warwick would produce a new rebellion, which in order to weaken by anticipation, the council resolved to set on foot an exact inquisition in all the towns and counties of the kingdom, for the discovery and punishment of all the partisans of the malcontents; the earl of Wiltshire and the lord Scales were vested with a commission to make this inquiry, and punish all those who had carried arms for York and his adherents in the late rebellion; and they began to execute their powers with great severity in some towns that openly favoured the lords of the opposition. Of all the counties in England Kent had the greatest cause to dread the resentment of the court, for it had always expressed a particular attachment to the duke of York; and the conduct of the inhabitants under Cade was not forgotten: believing therefore that their ruin was inevitable, if not prevented by some vigorous resolution, they sent an intimation to the lords at Calais, assuring them, that if they would land in Kent, the inhabitants would receive them with open arms, and hazard their lives and fortunes in their service. Sir Simon Montfort had been detached by Margaret with a body of fresh forces to guard Sandwich and other harbours that lay nearest the enemy; and ships had been equipped for convoying the duke of Somerset to England, where his presence

The earl of March, with Salisbury and Warwick, enter London in triumph.

was

A. C. 1460. was thought necessary by the council. But Warwick surprised this armament, pillaged the town of Sandwich, took Montfort, and carried the ships to Calais. It was during this short expedition, that he became acquainted with the state of affairs in England; the knowledge of which, together with the invitation of the Kentish men, determined him and his associates to land without delay. Nothing was wanting but a sum of money to purchase necessities; and the earl of Warwick borrowed on his own credit eighteen thousand pounds from the merchants of the staple. Thus supplied, he began to make preparations, and in the mean time sent over his uncle, the lord Falconbridge, to Kent; where he was joined by a great number of people belonging to that and the adjacent counties. He was soon followed by Warwick himself, with the earls of March and Salisbury, who landed at Sandwich, where they were met by Thomas Bourchier, archbishop of Canterbury, the lord Cobham, and other persons of distinction. Before they set sail from Calais, they had dispersed a manifesto in England, assuring the nation, that their sole motive for taking arms, was to deliver the people from the oppression under which they groaned, and to secure their liberties and privileges; towards the re-establishment of which they solicited the assistance of all true-hearted Englishmen. They had informed the duke of York of their intended operations, and the day on which they set sail for England. They brought over about fifteen hundred men, who being reinforced by four thousand, under the lord Cobham, they began their march towards London; and such numbers joined them in their route, that they entered the city in triumph with an army of forty thousand men devoted to their service.

Rymer.
Stowe.

Mean while the queen was not idle at Coventry: she had endeavoured to prevent their being received

in London, by sending thither the lord Scales with a strong body of forces; but he was refused admittance by the mayor even before the arrival of the malcontents, and threw himself into the Tower, from whence he threatened to cannonade the city, should the magistrates admit the rebels: to these menaces however, they paid no regard. Margaret still continued to assemble her forces, until her army being completed, she bestowed the joint command of it upon the dukes of Somerset and Buckingham, though she herself was in effect the general, and issued out all the orders in the name of Henry, who was there in person. As soon as the young earl of March understood that she was advancing towards London, he left the earl of Salisbury with good part of his troops in that capital, and marched out with the earl of Warwick, at the head of five and twenty thousand men, to attack her before her army should be increased. The two parties met in the neighbourhood of Northampton; after the queen had passed a river by which they were divided. Before they proceeded to battle, the associated lords sent the bishop of Salisbury to the king, with a message, intreating his majesty would suspend his indignation, and join with them in some salutary measures to prevent the effusion of English blood. This address was looked upon as a mere ceremony to save appearances; and being rejected as such, both sides prepared for an engagement. On the nineteenth day of July the malcontents drew up their army in order of battle: the earl of Warwick commanded the right wing; the lord Cobham conducted the left; and the earl of March took his station in the center. The royal army was commanded by the dukes of Somerset and Buckingham; the queen remained at a little distance, from whence she could observe the particulars of the action, and give her directions according to the emer-

A. C. 1460.
The queen
is defeated
at Nor-
thampton.

A. C. 1460. gency of the occasion ; and Henry stayed in his tent, waiting the event of a battle on which the fate of his crown depended. The Yorkists, having published orders through their army to respect the king's person, and spare the common soldiers, but to give no quarter to the officers, proceeded to the attack about two o'clock in the afternoon ; and the action beginning with equal fury on both sides, continued till seven in the evening ; when the lord Grey of Ruthwin, who commanded a considerable part of Henry's army, suddenly revolted to the rebels. This unexpected defection threw the rest of the king's forces into such consternation, that they forthwith began to give ground, and were routed with great slaughter. The duke of Buckingham, the earl of Shrewsbury, son to the famous Talbot, the lord Beaumont, and many other persons of distinction, were killed upon the spot. The queen, the prince of Wales, and the duke of Somerset, fled with such precipitation, that they did not halt until they had reached Durham. Henry fell into the hands of the victors, who treated him with all the exterior respect due to their sovereign ; and this deference, in some measure, consoled him for the mischance of the day, which would have rendered him a very great object of compassion, had not his natural indolence and want of sensibility fortified him against all the vicissitudes of fortune. He was immediately conducted to Northampton, with all the marks of honour and regard ; and, after a short stay in that place, repaired to London, surrounded by a croud of noblemen and others, who had so lately appeared against him in the field of battle. Mean time the queen, who did not think herself safe at Durham, retired privately to Wales, in order to elude the search of her enemies ; but she soon quitted that retreat, and with her son took refuge in Scotland. Immediately after the king's arrival in London, the Tower surrendered for

for want of provisions ; and the lord Scales, who acted as governor, attempting to go by water in disguise to the sanctuary at Westminster, was discovered and assassinated by the watermen. A commission was granted to the earl of Salisbury, empowering him to march with an army to the relief of Roxburgh castle, besieged by James II. of Scotland, who infringed the truce that he might take advantage of the intestine troubles of England. The garrison was already reduced to extremity, when that prince happened to lose his life by a cannon's bursting in the explosion ; nevertheless, the queen continued the siege, and the place was obliged to capitulate. The earl of Warwick was confirmed in the government of Calais and Guisnes, by virtue of a new commission ; and the duke of York and his adherents were declared good and faithful subjects. At this period died Charles VII. king of France, who is said to have starved himself to death from apprehension of being poisoned by the dauphin, who succeeded him under the name of Lewis XI.

Concy.
Mezerai.

The parliament meeting at Westminster on the seventh day of October, according to the writs which had been issued before the battle of Northampton, the king assisted in person ; and, the first business on which they proceeded was a repeal of the transactions in the last parliament held at Coventry, on pretence of its having been unduly summoned, and constituted of unqualified persons, who aimed at the destruction of the realm. The duke of York having been apprised of his son's success, returned immediately from Ireland ; and, arriving at London on the third day of the session, went directly to the house of lords, who were then sitting. He stood for some time under the canopy, with his hand upon the throne, waiting until he should be desired to ascend : but, the whole assembly maintained a profound silence ; and, the archbishop of Canterbury

The duke of
York claims
the crown in
parliament.

A. C. 1460. Canterbury advancing to him, asked, if he had waited upon the king since his arrival? He could not help blushing at this question; and, after some pause, replied, that he did not know any person to whom he owed that respect. So saying, he retired to his own house; and next day sent a writing to the parliament, containing the reasons upon which his pretensions to the crown were founded. He pretended to mount the throne as heir to the house of March; desired, that he might be heard by his counsel; and, that the parliament would do him justice. It was not without some difficulty that the lords allowed his claim to be read in the house; but, they resolved to proceed no farther, without communicating the affair to his majesty. When Henry was informed of their resolution, he desired, that the claim might be considered by his judges, serjeants, and attorney. These being summoned, declined giving their opinions in a matter so far above their cognizance. Then the lords, after another debate, ordered the serjeants and attorney to come and defend the king's title: it was likewise resolved, that there should be an intire freedom of debate; and that no lord should be called in question for what he should say in support of his own opinion.

Reasons
urged for
and against
the duke of
York's title.

We have already mentioned the pedigree of Richard duke of York, as descended from Lionel duke of Clarence, elder brother of John of Gaunt, the founder of the house of Lancaster; and, we shall now take notice of the objections that were made to Richard's claim. Henry's friends observed, that when his grandfather Henry IV. took possession of the throne, no person pretended to dispute his title. The Yorkists replied, that as Edmund earl of March, who was then alive, could not assert his title without running the risque of his life, his silence could not be interpreted into acquiescence

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in the right of the usurper. When Henry's favourers alledged, that his grandfather had received the crown by the authority of parliament, the favourers of the duke of York answered, that he did not pretend to claim it without the sanction of the said authority, as plainly appeared from his memorial presented to both houses; but, as the parliament had formerly strong reasons to set aside the true heir in favour of the house of Lancaster, so now they had powerful motives for doing justice to the duke of York. The resignation of Richard II. was advanced in behalf of the house of Lancaster; and, the other side denied that Richard's resignation regarded that house in particular, or even the person of Henry IV. but, even allowing this to have been the case, a king who was actually in confinement, and on the point of being deposed, had no power to establish a successor. It was objected to the duke of York, that his father, the earl of Cambridge, had been executed for high-treason, and his posterity declared incapable of all inheritance: but, this objection was obviated by those who observed, that the duke of York had been restored to the honours, and all the rights of succession by the king himself; and acknowledged as duke of York and earl of March by Henry, as well as the whole kingdom. Then the friends of the king observed, that the crown had been above sixty years in possession of the house of Lancaster. To this observation the others replied, that natural rights were indefeasible, and that no positive law could bring them into prescription. The last argument advanced in favour of Henry imported, that having already reigned thirty years, and led an innocent and inoffensive life, it would be cruel to deprive him of the crown. To invalidate this argument, the Yorkists observed, that as Henry was incapable of governing by himself, such indulgence would only operate in

A. C. 1460. favour of the queen and her ministers, who abused his name and authority : that, out of tenderness to him, they ought not to prejudice the whole kingdom, nor commit a flagrant piece of injustice from a motive of charity.

The difference between Henry and the duke of York is compromised.

Stowe.
Grafton.
Fabian.

Such were the principal reasons advanced on both sides of this very remarkable dispute, which was maintained with great spirit and capacity for some days successively, until they agreed to a sort of modification, which they hoped would prevent all those mischievous consequences that might have attended a total revolution. They unanimously resolved, that Henry should enjoy the crown for his natural life ; and the duke of York be declared his successor. This resolution was signified to the king by the chancellor, and afterwards reduced to an act of parliament to the following effect : That, although the duke of York had an incontestible right to the throne, he consented to Henry's enjoying it for life, and even to take the oath to him as to his lawful sovereign ; but, in case Henry should in any shape violate this agreement, the crown should from that moment devolve to the duke of York, or his lawful heirs. After this act was passed, the king, with the crown upon his head, went in procession to St. Paul's, accompanied by the duke of York, in token of reconciliation ; and, indeed, he seemed to be quite easy under this revolution of his affairs. Without seeming affected by the misfortunes of his family, he lived in tranquillity, employing himself wholly in the exercises of devotion ; and leaving the administration to those who managed under the sanction of his name and authority. The duke of York finding himself absolutely master of Henry's person, obliged him to sign an order for the queen to repair to London ; well knowing, that she would not obey the injunction : but, his design was to render her criminal in the eyes of the world, from

her

her refusal to comply with the command of her lord and husband; which would in some measure authorise the measures he intended to take against that princess. He thought her absolutely without resource, and persuaded himself, that nothing was wanting but a pretext for raising invincible obstacles to her return, that he might be altogether delivered from such an active enemy. But, he was mistaken in his conjecture.

Margaret, far from being dispirited by the misfortunes of her husband, had already returned to England with her son the prince of Wales; and raised an army of eighteen thousand men in the northern counties. In order to engage the people of that country in her interest, she found means to diffuse a report among them, that they should be allowed to pillage all England to the southward of the Trent; and, in all probability, her success in levying forces was owing to this expedient. The duke of York being informed of her designs, resolved to arrest her in the middle of her career; and for that purpose set out from London with four or five thousand men, leaving an order with his son the earl of March, to conduct the rest of the army into quarters of refreshment in Wales; and afterwards join him in the northern counties. As the duke advanced towards the North, he was not a little alarmed by the news of the queen's success in levying forces, with which he had not been acquainted before he left London; and, when he arrived in the neighbourhood of Wakefield in Yorkshire, he received intelligence, that she was in full march against him, at the head of eighteen thousand men. He forthwith threw himself into his own castle of Sandal, by the advice of the earl of Salisbury, who observed, that as the queen had no artillery, he could not be forced in that place, until he should be joined by his son Edward. Margaret neglected no artifice which she

The duke is
vanquished
and slain in
the battle of
Wakefield.

A. C. 1460. thought could induce him to quit this retreat before his son's arrival. She affected to continue her route towards the South; then she placed the greater part of her forces behind an eminence; and with the rest approaching the castle of Sandal, provoked him to battle by the most insulting messages. Whether the duke was stimulated by her reproaches, or found himself obliged to make a desperate effort, for want of provision; or lastly, was deceived in the number of the enemy; certain it is, he drew out his men, and resolved to hazard a battle. The action was begun by York, who charged the queen's troops with great impetuosity: but, her numbers overbalanced his courage; and, those troops who had been posted in ambush behind the hill, falling suddenly upon his rear, the Yorkists were immediately routed: the duke himself was slain fighting valiantly on foot; Sir Thomas Harrington, Sir David Hall, Sir Hugh Hastings, Sir Thomas Nevil, third son of the earl of Salisbury, Sir John and Sir Hugh Mortimer, with many other gentlemen, and about two thousand eight hundred soldiers, met with the same fate. The duke's son Edmund Plantagenet, earl of Rutland, was after the battle inhumanly killed in cold blood, upon Wakefield bridge, by the lord Clifford: the earl of Salisbury being wounded and taken prisoner, was sent to Pomfret, where he suffered decapitation, and his head was fixed on the walls of York, as well as the duke's, upon which Clifford set a crown of paper, in derision of his title. Thus fell Richard, duke of York, a prince possessed of many great and amiable qualities, and blameworthy alone, for having involved his country in the miseries of civil war, with a view to assert a disputed claim, such as had often been disregarded in the succession of the English kings, both before and after the conquest; a claim, which, in all probability, would have lain dormant, had
not

not the imbecility of Henry, and the arbitrary measures and unpopular deportment of his queen, awaked and invited it from the shade of oblivion.

The battle of Wakefield, which was fought on the thirtieth day of December, instead of re-establishing the affairs of Margaret, and the prince of Wales, served only to hasten their ruin. The earl of March, far from being dispirited by the defeat and death of his father, was inflamed with the most eager desire of revenge; and resolved to hazard his life and fortune in support of his pretensions. He now found himself in Wales, at the head of three and twenty thousand men, besides those who had been left under the command of Warwick for the defence of the capital; and, with these he determined to go in quest of Margaret, on whom he longed to revenge the misfortunes of his family. That princess had begun her march for London; and hearing of young Edward's design, detached Gasper Tudor, earl of Pembroke, and James Butler earl of Ormond, with a body of English and Irish troops, to oppose his progress. March, being informed of the queen's motions, had altered his first resolution of giving her battle, and changed his route, in hope of reaching London before her arrival: but, when he understood that Tudor had been detached against him, rather than run the risque of being hemmed in between two hostile armies, he marched directly into Herefordshire, in order to give him battle. The two armies met near Mortimer's cross, on Candlemas eve; and Edward being greatly superior in number to the Lancastrians, these last were soon defeated, with the loss of three thousand and eight hundred men killed on the field of action. The earls of Pembroke and Ormond escaped; but, Owen Tudor, husband of Catherine of France, and step-father to king Henry,

A. C. 1461.
Jasper Tudor, with a detachment of the queen's army, defeated by the young earl of March, at Mortimer's cross in Herefordshire.

A. C. 1461. was taken, and with nine other officers beheaded at Grafton. Hereford.
Stowe.

Warwick is
worsted by
the queen, on
Barnard's-
Heath near
St. Alban's.

Mean while the queen, with her son, attended by the dukes of Somerset and Exeter, the earls of Northumberland, Devonshire, and Shrewsbury, the lords Fitzhugh, Grey of Codemore, Roos, Greystock, Willes, and Willoughby, continued her march towards London, in full hope, that whenever her victorious army should appear, the citizens would expel the earl of Warwick, and receive her in triumph. Warwick himself seemed to dread some such event; for, rather than keep himself secure within the walls of London, he marched out with an handful to hazard an engagement: a step which he certainly would not have taken, had he been secure in the affection of the citizens. Margaret had advanced as far as St. Alban's, when she received intelligence, that Warwick was on his march towards that place, with the king in his army, which was reinforced by a body of Londoners. These had joined him, in order to prevent the mischiefs they apprehended from the queen's troops, who were northern free-booters, accustomed to rapine, and had ravaged the whole country in their passage. On Shrove-Tuesday the opposite armies came in sight of each other, and engaged on Barnard's-Heath near St. Alban's; where for some time the fortune of Warwick seemed to prevail, until the lord Lovelace, who commanded one of his wings, wheeled off, leaving the main body exposed: and then victory declared for Margaret. The earl on this occasion lost two thousand men, who were killed either in the action or in the pursuit; though he rallied his broken troops, and made an excellent retreat. The lord Bonvil, and Sir Thomas Kyreil, to whose care he had committed the person of Henry, were persuaded to stay with that prince, on his assurance, that they should receive no injury; but, he had
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not interest enough to save their lives: Margaret ordered them to be beheaded at St. Alban's on Ash-Wednesday. The chief advantage which Margaret reaped from the victory, was the release of her husband, whose name served to authorise her transactions: but, she seems to have been very much wanting to her own interest, in neglecting to march directly to the capital, while the news of her victory operated so strongly on the minds of the inhabitants, that they would have opened their gates at her approach. The citizens, indeed, were afraid of being plundered by her forces, who had already pillaged the town of St. Alban's: but, they were still more afraid of incurring the resentment of a victorious army, which they did not think themselves in a condition to oppose. The ravages of her troops having occasioned a scarcity of provision in her camp, she demanded a supply from the mayor of London, who did not think proper to refuse her in such a conjuncture. He ordered several waggons to be loaded with all sorts of lenten provision; but, they were stopped at Newgate by the populace, who were incensed at the licentious behaviour of her troops; and declared, that no necessaries should be furnished by the city, for the use of an army that did not come to defend, but to pillage their effects. The queen sent a body of forces, commanded by Sir Baldwin Fulford, and Sir Alexander Hody, to make an effort towards gaining admittance to the city, and they attempted to force Cripplegate; but were repulsed. Margaret denounced vengeance against the Londoners for this insult; though she never had an opportunity to execute the scheme of her resentment; for receiving intelligence that the earls of March and Warwick had joined their forces at Chipping-Norton in Oxfordshire, and begun their progress for London, she retired to the North, where she hoped to increase her army to such a for-

A. C. 1461.

Grafton.

Edward earl
of March
proclaimed
king of
England.

midable number, as would insure success against all opposition.

The earl of March arriving at London in the beginning of March, entered the city in triumph, amidst the acclamations of the people, by whom he was adored, for his affability and personal accomplishments, in which he excelled all the princes of his age. His friends, trusting to this popularity, resolved to save him the trouble and uncertainty of a parliamentary decision, and raise him at once to the throne by the consent of the people, and the grandees. With this view, the earl of Warwick drew up his army in order of battle, in the fields near Clerkenwell, on pretence of exercising the soldiers: an immense multitude of people being assembled to indulge their curiosity, the earl rode into the midst of this concourse, and read aloud the convention made between Henry and the duke of York, and confirmed by act of parliament. Then he gave them to understand, that as the king had notoriously violated this agreement, he had indisputably forfeited his right to the crown, which now belonged to Edward Plantagenet, the sole and true heir of the house of Mortimer. He thus prepared the people for his purpose, by an assertion which was absolutely false; inasmuch as Henry had been his own prisoner from the time of the agreement till the battle of Barnet, after which he was compelled to act according to the views of Margaret. Then he raised his voice, and asked, if they would have Henry of Lancaster for their king? The whole multitude answered, No, No: but when he demanded, if they would acknowledge Edward for their sovereign? they replied in the affirmative with loud acclamations. The consent of the people being thus obtained, the Yorkists convoked a great council of all the lords spiritual and temporal, magistrates, and gentlemen, who happened to be in London;

London; and Edward having explained his right A. C. 1461, to the crown, both by birth, and the agreement between Henry and his father, desired it might be adjudged to him by the determination of this assembly. He must have had more courage than discretion, who would have attempted to impugn his pretensions at such a juncture; therefore, the council unanimously declared, that Henry of Lancaster had forfeited all right to the crown, in violating the solemn agreement made with the late duke of York, which was confirmed by parliament; and that it now devolved to the duke's eldest son, Edward Plantagenet earl of March. After this declaration, the crown was offered to the earl, who received it with a modest acknowledgment of his own insufficiency; adding, that though his youth and inexperience rendered him fearful of loading himself with such a heavy burthen, he would do his utmost endeavours, with God's assistance, to make his people rich and happy. Next day he repaired to St. Paul's church, where he sat in the royal chair, with the sceptre of St. Edward in his hand. The archbishop of Canterbury demanding aloud, if the people would own Edward, earl of March, as their king, they replied as before, with acclamations of joy; and then the king received the homage of the nobility. This ceremony being concluded with a solemn Te Deum, Edward was conducted to the bishop's palace, in which the kings used to reside; and on the fifth day of March, he was proclaimed by the name of Edward IV. in the city of London, and the neighbourhood.

EDWARD

E D W A R D IV.

A.C. 1461.

Edward begins his march for the North.

THE first act of sovereignty that distinguished the reign of Edward, is said to have been the execution of one Walker, a citizen and grocer, who jocosely said to his neighbours that he would make his son heir to the crown, meaning the sign of the crown that hung over his door: this innocent jest was construed into high treason, and the unhappy man suffered death; though, in all probability, his chief crime was his adherence to the house of Lancaster, which Edward resolved to punish with the utmost rigour. He had not enjoyed his new dignity above eight days, when he found himself obliged to begin his march against Margaret, who had succeeded so well in recruiting her army among her northern friends, that by this time she found herself at the head of sixty thousand men, ready to sacrifice their lives for her service. Edward did not so much depend upon his election, which had been extremely irregular and defective, as upon the strength of his faction, and the success of his arms. Replete with all the fire of youth, courage, and ambition, he confided in his valour and fortune, against all odds of opposition; and, putting himself at the head of his forces, set out for the North, in hope of striking a decisive stroke against the queen and her adherents.

Detaches the lord Fitzwalter to seize the pass of Ferrybridge, where he is surprised and slain.

On his arrival at Pontefract, he detached the lord Fitzwalter to seize the pass of Ferrybridge, on the river Aire; and this service he performed without opposition. Henry and his queen hearing of Edward's approach, bestowed the command of their army on the duke of Somerset, while they themselves remained at York, waiting the issue of

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EDWARD IV.

an engagement, by which their fate was likely to be decided for ever. Somerset being informed that Fitzwalter had seized the pass of Ferrybridge, concluded that Edward's design was to give him battle; and that he might attack him with less advantage, he resolved to repel the troops of Fitzwalter to the other side of the river. For this purpose he sent a detachment under lord Clifford, who surprised the Yorkists, and drove them from the pass with great slaughter, after an obstinate action, in which Fitzwalter and the Bastard of Salisbury lost their lives. The earl of Warwick was extremely alarmed at the news of this disaster, which he no sooner received than he rode full speed to Edward, and communicated the tidings with marks of uncommon emotion; but, to convince his sovereign that his confusion did not proceed from any fear of his own personal danger, he killed his horse on the spot, and kissing the hilt of his sword, which was made in the form of a cross, swore that even if the whole army should forsake the king, he would remain alone, and spend the last drop of his blood in defence of his majesty. Edward, far from being dispirited by this check, which seemed to disorder Warwick so much, ordered proclamation to be made in his army, that all persons who were afraid of staying should have free leave to retire: That he would reward those who should do their duty; but that he would shew no mercy to any person who should fly from the battle. Then he ordered lord Falconbridge to pass the Aire at Castleford, about a league above Ferrybridge, and retake the post which the enemy had won. This order was executed with such diligence and secrecy, that the detachment had crossed the river before the Lancastrians had the least intimation of their design; then attacking Clifford by surprize, that
nobleman

A. C. 1461. nobleman and the brother of the earl of Westmoreland were slain, and their forces intirely routed.

The queen
is routed
with great
slaughter at
Towton.

The pass of Ferrybridge being thus regained, Edward crossed the river, and, early in the morning of Palm-sunday, advanced towards the Lancastrians, who, to the number of sixty thousand, occupied the fields between Towton and Saxton. Tho' the Yorkists did not exceed nine and forty thousand, they were chosen men, and Edward did not entertain the least doubt of victory; but, before the battle joined, he published an order through his army, that his soldiers should not encumber themselves with prisoners. About nine in the morning it began to snow, and a sharp wind drove the fleet full in the faces of the Lancastrians, disordering their sight in such a manner, that they could not judge the distance between themselves and the enemy. The lord Falconbridge, who commanded the van of Edward's army, taking advantage of this accident, ordered his archers to advance within shot of Henry's line, and let fly a shower of arrows, which were no sooner discharged than they retired again to their former station. The Lancastrians feeling the effects of this flight, believed the Yorkists were within their reach, and plied their bows until their quivers were quite exhausted, without having done the least execution. Then Falconbridge advanced again with his archers, who now shot their arrows without opposition, and slew a vast number of the enemy, even with the shafts which they picked from the field, after their own quivers were emptied. The earl of Northumberland and Sir Andrew Trollop, who commanded the van of Henry's army, seeing the disadvantage under which they laboured, in this way of fighting, advanced to close combat, and each side fought with equal courage, obstinacy, and rancour. The battle raged with great fury from morning till night; and Edward

ward exhibited such proofs of surprising courage, activity, and conduct, that the fate of the day depended in a great measure on his personal behaviour, and that of the earl of Warwick. Towards the evening, the Lancastrians being discouraged by the death of the earls of Northumberland and Westmoreland, the lords Dacres and Willes, Sir Andrew Trollop, and many other officers of distinction, began to give ground, though not in great disorder, intending to retreat to the bridge of Tadcaster. They accordingly preserved their ranks, and wheeled about occasionally as they retired, until Edward and Warwick animating their men to render the action decisive, they redoubled their efforts, and charged with such impetuosity, that the Lancastrians were broken and intirely routed. Great numbers were slain in the field of battle and in the pursuit; but the chief carnage happened at the small river Coc, which disembogues itself into the Warf. Thither the fugitives fled in hope of fording the stream; but it was so swelled with the rains as to be rendered impassable, until a kind of bridge or mound was formed by the dead bodies of the Lancastrians, who were slaughtered on the banks, or drowned in the river, which ran purple with their blood. Nor will this circumstance appear incredible, when we consider, that above six and thirty thousand men were killed in this battle. The dukes of Somerset and Exeter escaped with great difficulty; but the earl of Devonshire was taken. Immediately after this great victory, Edward advanced to York, in hope of seizing the persons of Henry and Margaret; but this princess had retired with her husband to Berwick. There being joined by the dukes of Somerset and Exeter, she concluded a treaty with the Scottish ministry, and repaired to that kingdom, where she and her husband met with a very hospitable reception. This, however,

A. C. 1461.

Stowe.
Grafton.
Biondi.
Speel.

she

A. C. 1461. He purchased at a dear rate, in ceding the town and castle of Berwick to the Scottish monarch, who was at that time a minor, under the tuition of George Douglas earl of Angus, with whom Henry engaged in a particular convention. Edward, on his arrival at York, ordered the heads of his father and the earl of Salisbury to be taken down from the walls, and those of the earl of Devonshire and some others, who were beheaded as traitors, to be set up in their room.

Edward negotiates an alliance with John, lord of the Isles.

The battle of Towton intirely decided the fate of the house of Lancaster. The North, which used to supply it with forces, was now exhausted, and the bravest warriors of those parts had perished in such a series of engagements. The queen had no resource left but the friendship of Scotland, from which she could expect but little assistance during the minority of James III. Edward was master of all England and Wales, except Harlegh and Merionethshire, and some castles in Northumberland, which he did not think it necessary to reduce. Perhaps he was afraid of their being delivered to the Scots, should they be hard pressed by his forces; or imagined they would submit of their own accord, upon his title's being universally acknowledged in all other parts of the kingdom, and confirmed by the ceremony of his coronation, which he would no longer defer. He had proceeded as far as Newcastle, where having made some necessary regulations for preserving the peace of the country, and left a body of troops sufficient to repel the incursions that might be made from those castles that did not yet acknowledge his sovereignty, he returned to his palace of Shene, in the neighbourhood of London. The twentieth day of June was fixed for his coronation; and, in the mean time, by the advice of the earl of Douglas, who had been long a refugee in England, he resolved to find such employment

ployment for the Scots as would prevent them from giving any considerable assistance to Henry and Margaret. For this purpose he entered into a negotiation with the earl of Ross, lord of the Isles, who had revolted from James, and promised to waste the northern parts of Scotland with fire and sword: but, as the articles of this treaty, which was managed by the earl of Douglas, could not be executed immediately, Edward proposed a truce to the regency of Scotland, and commissioners were appointed to treat on this subject; but the conferences were rendered ineffectual by the intrigues of Margaret, who resided at Edinburgh, and by this time had ingratiated herself with Mary of Gueldres, the Scottish king's mother.

Mean while the new king of England was crowned at Westminster, and issued out writs for calling a parliament to meet on the sixth day of July, from which it was prorogued to the fourth day of November. Immediately after the session was opened, the commons attended Edward with an address, congratulating him on his accession to the throne, and requesting him to punish all persons guilty of such extortions, riots, rapes, murders, and other iniquities, as had been committed with impunity, during the preceding reign. Then an act was passed, confirming the title of Edward. All those which had been made against the house of York were repealed. Henry VI. after a reign of eight and thirty years, was declared an usurper, and all his transactions were annulled as illegal; and lastly, he himself, his queen, and all their adherents, were attainted as traitors. During this session, Edward created his brother George duke of Clarence; his younger brother Richard was made duke of Gloucester; the lord Falconbridge promoted to the earldom of Kent; Henry Bouchier the king's uncle, was honoured with the earldom of Essex; and John Nevil, brother to the earl of Warwick, was created baron

He is crown-
ed at West-
minster.
Proceedings
in parlia-
ment.

Rymer.
Rot. Part.

A. C. 1461. baron of Montague. These promotions were followed by severities which serve to evince that cruelty which was inherent in all, even the most accomplished princes of the Norman line. Besides Henry himself, his wife Margaret, and their son Edward, who were attainted, the same act included the dukes of Somerset and Exeter, the earls of Northumberland, Wilts, and Pembroke, the viscount Beaumont, the lords Roos, Nevil, Willes, Clifford, Grey of Rugemont, Dacres, and Hungerford, Sir Richard Tonstall, and a great number of gentlemen, whose estates were confiscated. John earl of Oxford, a venerable old nobleman of unblemished character, was arrested on pretence of having engaged in a correspondence with Margaret; and, without having enjoyed the benefit of a trial, beheaded on Tower hill, together with his eldest son Aubrey de Vere, Sir Thomas Todenham, Sir Walter Tirrel, and Sir John Montgomery; and Sir Baldwin Fulford suffered afterwards in Bristol. The lands and effects of those victims he distributed among his adherents, and conciliated the affection of the clergy by confirming their privileges, exempting them from being prosecuted in civil courts for felonies and other offences; establishing the jurisdiction of ecclesiastical courts with regard to tythes, and allowing them to issue spiritual censures against such as should invade their prerogatives.

Rymer.

Edward's
convention
with John,
lord of the
Isles,

Edward having regulated his domestic affairs, converted his attention to foreign occurrences. England was actually at war with France, Scotland, Brittany, and the Low Countries; and if all these powers had joined against Edward at this juncture, his royalty would have been of short duration. Luckily for him, he had nothing to fear from Lewis XI. of France, whose mind was wholly engrossed by a project for rendering himself absolute in his own dominions, and destroying the power
of

of the nobles, of whom the dukes of Burgundy and Bretagne were the principal. He therefore had no inclination to renew the war with England. The duke of Brittany was in no condition to cope with such a powerful kingdom. The duke of Burgundy, though a friend to the house of Lancaster, was so well acquainted with the disposition of Lewis, that he divined his scheme: and desired to live in peace with England, that he might be the more able to anticipate the French king's designs. In these sentiments, he sent ambassadors to congratulate Edward on his accession to the throne; and to complain of some infractions of the truce subsisting between England and the Low Countries. They met with a very favourable reception; and commissioners were appointed to examine the particulars of the complaint, that all differences might be amicably compromised. Scotland then was the only place from whence he could apprehend the least molestation. Margaret had concluded a contract of marriage between her son Edward, and the sister of James, though both parties were infants; and leaving her husband at Edinburgh, made a voyage to France to crave the assistance of Lewis: but that prince was not of a character to engage in any enterprize from which he saw no prospect of advantage. He courteously received Margaret, who was his near relation, and even amused her with promise of succour; but all she could obtain was a present of twenty thousand livres, and a declaration that all the adherents of the house of Lancaster should meet with a friendly reception in his dominions. Edward, in order to baffle her intrigues in Scotland, still employed Douglas in a negotiation with John lord of the Isles, who had lately succeeded his father. The bishop of Durham, the earl of Worcester, and some others, were empowered to finish the treaty, which was concluded on the following conditions: That John earl of Ross, lord of the Isles, Donald Ballach his

A. C. 1461.

brother, and John the son of Donald, should do homage to king Edward: That they should never acknowledge any other king of England but Edward, or his successors, descended from Lionel duke of Clarence: That they should be ready to serve him in all his wars against the Scots in Britain and Ireland: That, in time of peace, the earl of Ross should enjoy a yearly pension of one hundred pounds sterling, forty be allowed to Donald, and ten to John the son of Donald; and that these pensions should be doubled in time of war or actual service: That in case Scotland should be conquered by the arms of Edward, he should invest them with the property of all the isles situated to the northward of the Scottish sea: That James earl of Douglas should in like manner receive the investiture of all the lands he had formerly possessed in Scotland, from the north sea to the borders of England; and that Edward should make neither peace nor truce with Scotland, without comprehending them in the treaty.

Rymer.

Margaret attempts to land at Tinsmouth, but is repulsed.

Edward had intimated his elevation to pope Pius II. who now thinking him sufficiently established on the throne, addressed him in a brief, congratulating him upon his accession; but couched in such a manner as reserved to himself the liberty of unsaying his compliment, in case the king should experience a vicissitude of fortune; for his approbation was conditional, and founded upon the proofs which Edward himself advanced in behalf of his pretensions. The lord Falconbridge, lately created earl of Kent, was now promoted to the post of high admiral of England; and the kingdom enjoying profound tranquility, after the storm by which it had been agitated, the duke of Somerset, and Ralph Piercy, brother to the earl of Northumberland, implored the mercy of the king, by whom they were generously pardoned.

This

This calm was not of long duration. Margaret A. C. 1461.
Act. Pub. having obtained a small reinforcement in France, commanded by Peter De Brezé seneschal of Normandy, set sail for England, in full confidence of being joined by the inhabitants of the northern provinces. But, when she landed at Tinmouth, she found herself in danger of being surrounded by a body of Edward's troops, which obliged her to retire on board of her ships with the utmost precipitation. A storm immediately beginning to blow, her ship was separated from the rest of the fleet, and with great difficulty made the harbour of Berwick, while the other vessels were driven towards Bamburg, where the French attempted to land; but their descent being opposed by the Bastard Ogle, at the head of some forces, they retired to the small island of Lindisfarne. There they were attacked by Ogle, who slew part of their number, and took the rest prisoners; and their commander De Brezé made his escape in a fishing-boat to Berwick. Biondi.

Edward being informed of these transactions, and A. C. 1463.
Henry and Margaret are routed at Hexham by the baron Montague. supposing that Margaret was assured of succours in Scotland, with which she would not fail to invade the northern counties, detached baron Montague, with the forces that were at hand, to retard her progress, until he himself should follow with a numerous fleet and army to overturn all her projects. Margaret had actually entered Northumberland with a body of freebooters, who enlisted on promise of being allowed to plunder; and her army increased to such a degree, that the duke of Somerset and Sir Ralph Percy began to imagine she would succeed in her enterprize; and notwithstanding the late oath they had taken to Edward, joined her with all their adherents. Montague, having advanced as far as Durham, halted some days in that place until he received a reinforcement; then continuing his march, encountered a detachment of the

A. C. 1463. enemy's army, commanded by the lords Hungerford and Roos, on Hedgeley-Moor, where they were routed; and Sir Ralph Piercy lost his life on this occasion. Montague, encouraged by this success, resolved to have the whole honour of defeating Margaret before the king should come up, and marching directly to Hexham, where her army was intrenched, he attacked them in their lines before they had intimation of his approach, and obtained a complete victory. The duke of Somerset was taken prisoner, together with the lords Roos and Hungerford; but Henry, his queen, and son, escaped into Scotland, though they were so hotly pursued, that some of Henry's attendants were taken almost by his side; and among these the person who carried his cap of state, which was delivered to Edward. The prisoners were not suffered to languish in confinement; Somerset, Roos, Hungerford, W. Tailboys earl of Kyme, and Sir John Finnerne, were immediately beheaded, the first at Hexham, and the rest at Newcastle; Sir Humphrey Nevil and twelve other gentlemen were executed at York; their estates were distributed among the adherents of the victor, and the lord Montague was created earl of Northumberland; though Denry Piercy, submitting to Edward in the sequel, was restored to his honours with the consent of Nevil, who contented himself with the title of marquis of Montague.

Edward concludes a truce with France, and Scotland.

After the victory at Hexham, the king, who had advanced as far as Durham, thought it unnecessary to proceed farther northward in person, but sent the earl of Warwick to reduce some places which Margaret had taken, while he himself returned to London. The earl dividing his army into three bodies, invested at the same time the castles of Bamburg, Dunstanburg, and Alnewick: the two first of these places were soon reduced, and the commanders pu-

nished

ished as traitors : but De Brezé, who commanded the garrison of Alnewick, composed of French troops, defended himself with great gallantry, until he and his men were brought off by the earl of Angus at the head of a strong body of Scottish cavalry. Edward's last victory cooled that friendship which the French and Scots had hitherto manifested for the unfortunate Henry, whose affairs they now looked upon as desperate. The Scots perceiving the precautions which were taken by Montague, whom the king of England had just declared warden of the marches, saw no prospect of eluding his vigilance by incursions, and desired that Edward would grant safe-conducts for ambassadors to come and treat of a pacification : at the same time Lewis XI. negotiated a truce with him for one year, by the mediation of the duke of Burgundy, who likewise renewed the truce of commerce between England and the Low Countries. Mean while the archbishop of St. Andrew's repairing to London, as envoy from the regency of Scotland, concluded a like truce between the two kingdoms, on condition that the respective kings should not in any shape countenance or assist the enemies of each other.

A. C. 1463.

Act. Pub.

Henry being thus abandoned by all his allies, and thinking his person unsafe at Edinburgh since the conclusion of this last agreement, took the imprudent resolution of repairing privately to England, where perhaps he hoped the northern counties would again rise in his favour. He accordingly set out from Edinburgh, in disguise, attended by three divines, and reached Waddington Hall in Lancashire, where, after he had lain concealed for some time, he was discovered by Sir James Harrington, who treated this unfortunate prince with the utmost indignity. He was seized as he sat at dinner, and being placed upon a horse, his legs were tied under the belly of the beast, as if he had

Henry is
taken and
conveyed to
the Tower.

A. C. 1463. been the vilest malefactor. In this manner he was conducted to London, and being met upon the road by the earl of Warwick, that nobleman insulted him in the most opprobrious terms, even encouraging the multitude to deride the unfortunate monarch. After the capture of Henry, his queen, and son, afraid of trusting to any person's fidelity, fled for refuge into woods and desarts, where they suffered all the extremity of distress, till at length they were rifled by robbers, who would, in all probability, have deprived them of their lives as well as of their apparel and effects, had not the thieves quarrelled about the booty, and attacking one another, afforded an opportunity for the royal prisoners to make their escape. They had not proceeded far when they were met by another ruffian, who approached them with a drawn sword in his hand and fury in his aspect. On this occasion, Margaret exhibited a remarkable proof of presence of mind and resolution. Taking her son by the hand, and assuming an air of confidence and majesty, "Here, friend," said she, "save my son, the son of good king Henry." The robber was struck with the dignity and beauty of her person, as well as with the nature of her address. He happened to be one of those who had been outlawed for adhering to the cause of her husband. His savage heart was melted with compassion, at sight of his queen and prince in such deplorable distress. He comforted them with assurances of fidelity and protection; and carefully conducted them to a village near the sea-side, where they found an opportunity of embarking in a vessel for Flanders. They were hospitably received by the duke of Burgundy, from whose court they repaired to that of Margaret's father René of Anjou. About the same time Edmund duke of Somerset, brother of him who was beheaded at Hexham, and the duke of Exeter, escaped

escaped to the Low Countries, where they concealed their quality, in apprehension of being delivered into the hands of Edward; and were reduced to such extremity of wretchedness, that even in the severest time of winter, they ran about barefoot as errand boys to the lowest class of people, till at length they were discovered and accommodated by the duke of Burgundy with moderate pensions for their subsistence.

A. C. 1463.

Philip de Comines.

Edward having Henry in his power, and Margaret having quitted the kingdom, there was no other person capable of disturbing his tranquility. He therefore seized this opportunity of acquiring the affection of his subjects, who had been alarmed and disgusted by his late acts of severity. He had published a general amnesty in favour of all the Lancastrians who, within a certain specified time, should submit to his government, and take the oath of allegiance. He exerted all his talents in efforts to render himself popular. He treated all his noblemen as if they had been his own brothers: he affected to appear the father of his people. His personal accomplishments and gallantry recommended him to the favour of the female sex, which he cultivated with the most assiduous address. By his affable deportment he ingratiated himself with all degrees of people; the meanest suppliant was admitted to his presence, and every day was distinguished by his acts of compassion and generosity. During this season of peace and good humour, his chief counsellors advised him to convert his thoughts to matrimony, that he might see the succession settled upon his own issue. He seemed to relish the advice; and three matches were proposed for his acceptance. The first was Margaret sister of the Scottish king; but besides that this princess was already betrothed to Edward the son of Henry, she was too young for consummation. The second was

A. C. 1464.

Various matches proposed for Edward.

A. C. 1464. Isabel of Castile, who afterwards married Ferdinand king of Arragon; but she was likewise judged too young for wedlock. Bona of Savoy, sister to the queen of France, was the third princess proposed as a consort for Edward, who determined to demand her in marriage; and for this purpose, the earl of Warwick was appointed ambassador extraordinary to the French court, where the lady resided. We have already observed, that the chief aim of Lewis was to reduce the exorbitant power of his grandees, and particularly to abase the dukes of Burgundy and Bretagne. The first of these was so powerful that he durst not attack him openly; and therefore he resolved to begin with the duke of Brittany, on pretence of a dispute which had long subsisted between the crown of France and the sovereigns of that province, touching the nature of the homage which the duke should pay to the French monarch. The kings of France had always demanded liege, and the dukes never granted more than simple homage; so that both sides used to enter a protest at every new investiture. Lewis, resolving to make use of this pretext, ordered a body of troops to rendezvous in Anjou, and then sent the chancellor de Morvilliers with an order to the duke of Bretagne, prohibiting him from assuming any right of sovereignty within his own dominions. The duke being in no condition to oppose such an antagonist in the field, had recourse to stratagem, and desired he might be indulged with a delay of three months, that he might consult the estates of his dutchy. His request being granted, he employed this interval in caballing among the peers of France, with whom he joined in a powerful confederacy, which was afterwards distinguished by the name of the League of the Public Good.

Such was the situation of affairs in France, when Edward sent the earl of Warwick to demand Bona
or

of Savoy in marriage; and nothing could have been more agreeable than this proposal to Lewis, who earnestly wished for an alliance with England, which would prevent Edward from interfering with his designs. He accordingly assented to the proposition; and that he might reap all the advantage that could be produced from such a connexion, he spun out the treaty of marriage, in hope of concluding a lasting peace, and engaging in a bond of personal friendship with the king of England: he was also desirous of extending this alliance to the duke of Burgundy, that Francis duke of Bretagne might be deprived of all assistance and protection. With this view, he agreed with Edward and Philip to hold a congress at Hesdin, from whence it was afterwards transferred to St. Omer; though this produced nothing but a prolongation of the truce. In the course of the same year, another truce was concluded with Scotland for fifteen years; and in the month of August ambassadors arrived in England from the duke of Brittany, who, finding himself hard pressed by the king of France, solicited a truce for one year with Edward, who, notwithstanding his negotiation with Lewis, granted the duke's request.

A. C. 1464.
Edward de-
mands the
lady Bona
of Savoy in
marriage.

A. C. Pub.

Mean while the earl of Warwick settled all the articles of the marriage-contract, between the king and the princess Bona; and Lewis appointed the count of Dammartin as his ambassador and plenipotentiary at the court of London, to put the finishing stroke to that negotiation, which, however, was defeated by an extraordinary accident. Edward, chancing to hunt in Northamptonshire, went to visit Jaqueline of Luxemburg, the dutchess of Bedford, who, after the death of her first husband, had given her hand to Sir Richard Wideville. By this second marriage she had among other children a daughter called Elizabeth, married to Sir John Grey

A. C. 1465.
He is capti-
vated by the
beauty of
Elizabeth
Wideville.

A. C. 1465. Grey of Groby, who had been slain in the service of the house of Lancaster. The young widow had retired to her father's house at Grafton, after having seen her husband's estate confiscated; and she took this opportunity of throwing herself at Edward's feet, and imploring a maintenance for herself and children, out of their father's fortune. Edward, naturally of an amorous complexion, could not behold this beauteous widow at his feet without emotion. He was instantly captivated by her charms, and raising her from the ground, made a favourable answer to her request. He confided so much in his station and personal qualifications, as to imagine he should easily triumph over her virtue and caution; and found opportunities to make her acquainted with the nature of his passion. He had for once, however, over-rated his own address; she rejected his proposals with disdain, and told him, that, although she was unworthy of being his queen, she thought herself too good to be his concubine. This declaration completed her conquest over the heart of Edward, who now approved of her spirit and discretion, as much as he admired her beauty: in a word, he laid aside his former suit, which she could not have granted with any regard to her honour, and offered his hand as the price of her condescension. It is not to be supposed she could have any reason to refuse such an offer from a young prince of Edward's character and accomplishments. She embraced the proposal with transport, and such marks of sensibility as effectually secured the heart of her admirer.

Whom he
marries pri-
vately.

Nevertheless, he would not proceed farther in this affair, without communicating his intention to his mother the dutchess of York, who was extremely surpris'd and concerned at his passion, and used all her endeavours to dissuade him from engaging in such an impolitic alliance. She observed,
that

that such a precipitate engagement would be an irreparable injury and affront to the earl of Warwick, as well as to the French king; and, in all probability, entail upon him the resentment of both, to the reproach of his character and imminent danger of his crown: that the nobles of England would justly take umbrage at his raising the family of Wideville so far above all their honours; that he could not, without degrading his dignity, give his hand to a private gentlewoman, his own subject, who had several children by a former husband; and lastly she told him, that since he was determined to take an English wife, without the considerations of high birth and opulent fortune, he ought to give the preference to a young lady called Elizabeth Lucy, whom he had formerly promised to espouse. To these observations Edward replied, that he could not think of sacrificing his passion, which was certain, to the resentment of Warwick which was uncertain; that the king of France would be too much engaged with his own domestic affairs, to think of troubling his neighbours; that his taking a wife from among his subjects, far from giving umbrage, would be agreeable to his nobility, as all their families for the future might aspire at the same honour; and with respect to Elizabeth Lucy, he denied that any promise of marriage had been made to that young lady. But lest the report of such an engagement might be afterwards used as a pretext for invalidating the match upon which he had now set his heart, he desired Elizabeth might be examined by the bishops, touching the nature of her correspondence with him; when she owned that he had never engaged himself to her by promise of marriage; though at the same time she declared that she would never have consented to the gratification of his desires, if she had not thought his intentions were honourable. From this answer, the prelates

A. C. 1465. prelates determined that he might marry another woman with a safe conscience; and Edward espoused Elizabeth Wideville so privately, that the marriage was not divulged until he thought proper to issue orders for her coronation.

Stowe.

Resentment
of Lewis
and the earl
of War-
wick.

The nobility and people were not a little surprised when they understood that this extraordinary match had been concluded, while the king carried on a negotiation at the court of France, for a marriage with the princess of Savoy. The first families of the kingdom were extremely disgusted at the promotion of Elizabeth and her relations; for her father was elevated to the dignity of earl of Rivers; her sister Margaret was matched with Thomas lord Matravers, son and heir of William earl of Arundel; her brother Anthony Wideville espoused the only daughter and heir of lord Stales, the richest fortune in the kingdom; and her son Thomas being created marquis of Dorset, married the heiress of the lord Bonneville. But the disgust of the nation in general was a trifling circumstance, when compared with the resentment of the earl of Warwick, who looked upon this clandestine match as the greatest insult and affront that could be offered to his honour. He considered it as a flagrant proof of ingratitude in Edward, whom he had raised to the throne; and he could not help communicating his sentiments to the king of France, who did not fail to encourage and foment his indignation. That prince was incensed against Edward for the outrage offered to the honour of his family; but his own affairs would not allow him to manifest his resentment, which he therefore resolved to dissemble until he should find some favourable opportunity to do himself justice. Lewis had nothing princely in his disposition, except personal courage, of which he had exhibited repeated proofs before he ascended the throne of France: but he was a cool, selfish, dissembling

dissembling politician, who knew how to disguise A. C. 1465. his sentiments and designs; who could stoop to the meanest condescensions, when he thought his interest would be promoted by such compliance; and whose reign was a continual exertion of low cunning, by which he sometimes overshot his purpose, and never failed to incur the contempt of his neighbours.

The earl of Warwick returned to England glowing with resentment and revenge, which, however, he concealed with great care and circumspection; and from this very dissimulation Edward divined the nature of his sentiments: but, as it was the interest of both to disguise their real thoughts, the king continued to treat him with exterior marks of respect; and the earl maintained his place in the council, until his credit and influence were wholly superseded by the earl of Rivers. In the mean time the ceremony of the queen's coronation was performed at Westminster on the twenty-sixth day of May, with great pomp and magnificence; tho' neither Warwick nor his brothers, the earl of Northumberland, and George lately promoted to the archbishopric of York, assisted on this occasion. These two seem to have absented themselves from disgust; but the earl of Warwick was at that time in Boulogne with the lords Hastings and Wenlock, as ambassadors from Edward, sent to treat about a commercial truce with the count of Charolois, and the envoys of his father, Philip duke of Burgundy. This negotiation miscarried, through the count's attachment to the house of Lancaster, from which he was descended by his mother: but Warwick and his colleagues, being empowered to treat with the ambassadors of France and Brittany, concluded a truce with both of these powers, though they were

Warwick's credit declines in the court of England.

Rymer.

A. C. 1465.

State of
France,Philip de
Comines,

The duke of Brittany had not only engaged the count de Charolois and the duke of Bourbon in the war of the Public Good, but even brought over the French king's brother the duke of Berry, to the interest of the confederates. The count de Charolois was personally incensed against Lewis, who had, by bribing the ministers of his father Philip, obtained the restitution of the towns upon the Somme, for the consideration of four hundred thousand crowns, according to the treaty of Arras; and afterwards employed the Bastard of Rubempré, and others, to surprise the persons of the duke and the count, and bring them to him dead or alive. His scheme being detected, the count de Charolois was so exasperated at his perfidy, that he raised a numerous army and approached Paris, while the duke of Brittany and the rest of the confederates made preparations to join him with a strong reinforcement. Lewis, who was then in the Bourbonnois, being informed of his motions, marched directly towards the capital. Their armies meeting at Monthlery, a battle ensued, and both sides claimed the victory. The king threw himself into Paris, and took such precautions for the defence of the capital, that, when the confederates joined, they found it so well fortified, that they could not undertake the siege with any prospect of success. At length the war was terminated by a treaty signed at Conflans, by which Lewis restored to the duke of Burgundy the towns situated upon the Somme; and granted Normandy as an appenage to his brother the duke of Berry. After the ratification of this agreement, the count de Charolois returned to the Low Countries; and the duke of Berry, accompanied by the duke of Brittany, went to take possession of Normandy, where, in a few days, these two princes happening to quarrel, the duke of Brittany retired to his own dominions. Lewis, taking advantage of this dis-

sension,

sension, marched without delay into Normandy, from whence he expelled his brother, who found himself obliged to take refuge in Brittany, where, notwithstanding his quarrel with the duke, he met with an hospitable reception. A. C. 1465.

All these different powers negotiated at the same time with Edward, who politically amused them all with hopes of a solid alliance; but in the mean time agreed to a short truce with each, that he might keep himself unengaged until he should see the issue of the war, and take his measures accordingly. During these transactions, Isabel de Bourbon, second wife of the count de Charolois, dying, he began to look upon Edward in a different light from that in which he had considered him before. He saw him triumphing over all opposition, and firmly settled on the throne of England; he foresaw nothing but mischief to himself from the conjunction of Edward and Lewis; and the fairest advantage from an alliance with the king of England. In these sentiments he demanded Edward's sister Margaret in marriage; and this proposal was very agreeable to the English monarch, who knew that Lewis hated him in his heart on account of his sister-in-law Bona; that all his advances and professions were insincere; and that sooner or later he would manifest his resentment: besides, it was not the interest of England to sit tamely neutral, and see the French king ruin the dukes of Burgundy and Bretagne. He therefore, on the twelfth day of October, signed a treaty of personal alliance, friendship, and fraternity, with the count de Charolois; and sent a safe-conduct to Lewis of Bruges lord of Gruthuyfen, whom the duke of Burgundy had appointed as his plenipotentiary, to treat with Edward concerning a perpetual peace, and regulate the conditions of the marriage between the count de Charolois and the princess Margaret. A. C. 1466.
Edward concludes a treaty with the count de Charolois.

Rymer.

Mean

A. C. 1466.

Birth of the
princess
Elizabeth.

Mean while the duke of Brittany was hard pressed by Lewis : since the duke of Berry had been expelled from Normandy, he was supported by this prince, who endeavoured to execute the treaty of Conflans ; and the count de Charolois engaged to make a powerful diversion in Picardy. But his father Philip having undertaken a war against the inhabitants of Liege, the count could not possibly perform his promise ; so that the duke of Brittany was obliged to temporize with Lewis, by entering into a negotiation with him about his giving up his right of sovereignty. This, however, was no more than an expedient to gain time, until the count de Charolois should be in a condition to give him effectual assistance. Accordingly, the war of Liege being suspended by a truce, the count was on the eve of marching into Picardy, when Lewis, by his intrigues, induced the Liegeois to recommence hostilities, which prevented him from carrying his scheme into execution ; and the duke of Brittany was left to struggle alone against the whole power of France. By this time Edward's queen was delivered of the princess Elizabeth, who proved the means of extinguishing the fatal quarrel between the houses of York and Lancaster ; and the kingdom enjoyed profound tranquility. The young monarch concluded treaties of perpetual alliance with the kings of Castile and Denmark ; and prolonged the truce with Scotland for the term of five and forty years.

Rymer.

A. C. 1467.

Death of
Philip duke
of Bur-
gundy.

Lewis of France continued his operations against the duke of Brittany, who lost all the places he possessed in Lower Normandy, and saw himself on the brink of being attacked in his own proper dominions, while the forces of Burgundy were still employed against the inhabitants of Liege : but the French king understanding by his spies, that the negotiation between Edward and Philip related

to

to the defence of Bretagne, he exerted all his art and influence to divert the king of England from those engagements with his enemies. He sent the Bastard of Bourbon and the archbishop of Narbonne, as his ambassadors to London, with proposals of alliance with Edward, who pretended to be entirely free of all connexions, and immediately appointed commissioners to treat with these envoys : but he found means to protract the negotiation ; and Lewis was afraid to drive the duke of Bretagne to extremity, lest the king of England should break off the treaty, and declare in that prince's favour. Such was the situation of affairs when Philip duke of Burgundy died ; and was succeeded by his only son the count de Charolois, who, on the very day of his father's death, ratified the alliance with Edward, and declared himself more zealous than ever in support of the duke of Brittany.

Mean while the court of England underwent considerable changes, which were productive of infinite mischief to the nation. As the queen's relations advanced in Edward's favour, the earl of Warwick and his brothers declined in their interest, and were every day subjected to new mortifications. The post of chancellor, which had been occupied by the archbishop of York, was taken in an abrupt and disobliging manner from that prelate, and given to the bishop of Bath and Wells, one of the queen's most zealous partisans. The earl of Warwick was no longer employed in any affair of importance ; and his brother the marquis of Montague was kept at a distance from court, by his office of warden of the Scottish marches. On the other hand, the earl of Rivers was elevated to the highest pinnacle of greatness. To the post of lord high treasurer, which he already possessed, was added that of high constable, vacant by the resignation of the earl of Worcester, whom the king created his lieutenant in

The earl of Rivers and the queen's other relations engross the whole administration.

A. C. 1467. Ireland under the duke of Clarence; and the survivancy of the constable's place was conferred upon the earl's son Anthony Wideville. The queen's sister Catharine was married to Henry duke of Buckingham; and another sister called Anne matched with George son and heir of the earl of Kent, formerly Edmund lord Grey of Ruthvin: William, eldest son of the lord Herbert, espousing Mary a third sister of the queen, was created lord of Dunstar, and afterwards earl of Huntingdon; and his sister Margaret was given in marriage to Thomas Talbot viscount L'Isle. These honours and alliances given and contracted in favour of an obscure family, excited the hatred and envy of the commons as well as of the nobility, who could not but repine at the king's partiality, in behalf of his wife's relations; but of all the nobility, the earl of Warwick and his brothers had the greatest reason to complain of these promotions, to some of which they were more than any other persons in the kingdom, intitled, by the great services they had done to Edward. Instead of being recompensed as they deserved, over and above the indelible affront offered to the earl in the affair of the lady Bona, he was excluded from all share in the administration, subjected to a series of slights and insults from the queen and her kindred, who seemed intent upon driving him from court, lest he should one day retrieve his credit at the council; and at last, the king, by act of parliament, resumed all grants of lands and offices since the day of his accession, except in certain cases mentioned in special provisos, added to the act when it obtained the royal assent. These were chiefly in favour of the clergy and corporations; but Edward's real view in this bill, was to render the house of Nevil dependent on his pleasure, for the enjoyment of those estates with which their services had been rewarded. So many con-

curring

cunning motives could not fail to operate strongly A. C. 1467. on the resentment of Warwick, who was one of the proudest noblemen that England ever produced : he therefore could no longer dissemble his disgust, but retired to his castle of Middleham in Yorkshire.

In the mean time Edward amused the ambassadors of Lewis, with hopes of a perpetual alliance, until the marriage between the duke of Burgundy and his sister Margaret was concluded ; then she departed from England, accompanied by the dutchess of Exeter and Suffolk ; and the nuptials were solemnized at Bruges with incredible magnificence. The remaining part of the winter was employed in negotiating an alliance with the duke of Brittany, under the mediation of Edward's new brother-in-law, who was so much embarrassed by the war of Liege, that he could yield very little assistance to that ally. At first the truce was prolonged till A. C. 1468. July, when Edward's commissioners signed a treaty of commerce with Brittany ; and next day orders were issued to levy troops for the defence of that dutchy. In the beginning of August, the king sent ambassadors to France, on pretence of treating with Lewis about a perpetual peace ; and in less than three days after their departure, subscribed a treaty, by which he obliged himself to reinforce the duke of Brittany with three thousand archers. These troops being levied, the king bestowed the command of them upon his brother-in-law Anthony Wideville, lord Scales, who proposed to set sail for Brittany in the beginning of October. Rymer.

During these negotiations at London, the dukes of Bretagne and Berry were reduced to great difficulties. The truce they had obtained of Lewis was almost expired ; the English succours were not yet arrived ; and the duke of Burgundy was still hindered by the war of Liege, from marching to Accommodation between France and Burgundy. their

A C. 1463. their relief. At length, however, that prince found an opportunity to bring his enemies to a battle, in which they were defeated, and obliged to sue for peace; which was granted on pretty favourable conditions. Immediately after the ratification of the treaty, he began his march into Picardy, and had already advanced to the banks of the Somme, when he was informed, that his allies had made peace with Lewis; that the duke of Berry had renounced all foreign alliances; and resigned all claim upon Normandy, in consideration of a moderate pension, and a small estate in land. Charles was not a little confounded, when he received the account of this transaction; nevertheless, he would not retire, but continued encamped in the same place; on this supposition, that as the duke of Brittany had submitted on compulsion, he would retract his engagements with Lewis, upon seeing himself so powerfully supported. This resolution of Charles alarmed the king of France, who began to fear what the other hoped; and in this apprehension set out for Picardy, to treat of an accommodation with the duke of Burgundy. That prince, uncertain with respect to the resolves of the duke of Bretagne, consented to retire, on payment of four hundred thousand crowns, which Lewis disbursed for the expence of his expedition.

Adventure
between
Lewis of
France and
Charles of
Burgundy at
Peronne.

Hitherto the French king had succeeded to his wish, in dissolving the league which had been formed against him, and reducing his brother to an incapacity of hurting him for the future; but, still he hankered after the execution of his first project, to ruin the duke of Brittany, that he might afterwards humble the rest of his nobility; and even reduce the overgrown power of the duke of Burgundy. This was his favourite scheme; and seemed to engross his whole attention so much, that he was betrayed by it into the most dangerous inadvertency.

After having signed his treaty with the duke of Burgundy, he resolved to confer with him personally ; hoping by his eloquence and insinuation, to detach him intirely from the interests of the duke of Bretagne : at least, he thought he should be able to sow such jealousies between these allies, as would produce an harvest that would turn out to his advantage. With this view, he demanded a safe-conduct from the duke, by virtue of which he might visit him at Peronne ; and this being granted, he repaired to that place with a very slender retinue. Before he took this resolution, he had sent ambassadors to persuade the inhabitants of Liege to renounce the last peace, and take arms against Charles ; in which case he promised to supply them with powerful succours. He had even forgot to recal the ambassadors, who succeeded so well in their negociation, that the Liegeois immediately recommenced hostilities ; and, intelligence of this was brought to Charles while the king of France was with him at Peronne. The duke of Burgundy was so incensed at this double-dealing in Lewis, whose aim he imagined was to surprize him unprovided for his own defence, that he put the French king under arrest in the castle of Peronne ; and detained him prisoner for some days, during which he wavered in his resolution, about the conduct he should observe on such an occasion. Lewis, whose own knavish disposition taught him to dread the designs of his enemy, remained all that time under the utmost terror and agitation, and resolved to purchase his liberty, by submitting to all the conditions that the duke should please to impose. But, he found in Charles such generosity, as even transcended his warmest hope. All that he demanded was that Lewis should bestow Champagne and Brie on his brother, the duke of Berry, in lieu of Normandy, which was granted to him by the treaty

A. C. 1468. of Conflans ; and that he would accompany the duke in his war against the Liegeois. In a few days after this convention, they set out together for the country of Liege, and Lewis had the mortification to be an eye-witness of the destruction of the capital city, which he himself had instigated to its own ruin. At length he obtained his liberty, after having undergone the most dreadful apprehension of losing his life, or being detained in perpetual imprisonment.

Philip de
Comines

Persecution
of Sir Tho-
mas Cooke.

About this period, Edward renewed the antient alliance between England and Arragon ; so that being at peace with almost all the princes of the continent, he had nothing to fear but from domestic troubles ; and of these he seemed to have but little apprehension : though a spirit of discontent began to diffuse itself through the nation, which was disgusted by the pride and insolence of the queen's relations. Sir Thomas Cooke, who had been mayor of London, was accused of treason by one Hawkins, a servant of lord Wenlock, and arrested ; but, bailed at the request of the princess Margaret, before her marriage with the duke of Burgundy : after her departure he was again apprehended, and sent prisoner to the Tower ; and his house and effects, to a very considerable value, were seized by the earl of Rivers, as treasurer of England. After having lain a long time in prison, he was tried and acquitted by several juries, though not released : then a bill being found against him, for misprision of treason, he was committed to the Compter, and from thence conveyed to the King's Bench in Southwark. There he continued for a long time, while the servants of Rivers plundered his houses, until he purchased his liberty with eight thousand pounds, by way of fine to the king for his offence. Nor was this the end of his persecution. The queen demanded an hundred marks for every thousand

thousand pounds of his fine; and this exaction he was obliged to pay, over and above large presents to her council. His accuser, with some others, was afterwards hanged at Tyburn, for corresponding with Margaret of Anjou and the duke of Somerset. He was apprehended on the information of a servant belonging to Robert Whittingham, taken at Queenborough with letters from France. This man being put to the torture, impeached Sir Ger-
vase Clyfton, and several other gentlemen, who were afterwards tried and acquitted.

A. C. 1468.

Fabian.

The earl of Warwick himself incurred the like imputation. The family of the Widevilles had used all their endeavours to render this nobleman suspected to the king, who had, indeed, very little reason to confide in his attachment, considering the ingratitude with which his services had been repayed. He had even attempted to debauch the earl's daughter, one of the most beautiful young ladies, and the richest heiress in England; an insult, for which he could never hope forgiveness from a man of Warwick's character. One would be apt to imagine, that the king and his new ministry practised every method they could devise to provoke the earl to a declaration, which would free them from a disagreeable suspense; and furnish them with a pretext to complete his destruction. Jasper earl of Pembroke arrived with a small body of troops from France, and landing near Hardlegh in Merionethshire, which was still occupied by the Lancastrians, was joined by a considerable number of the natives. With these he ravaged great part of North Wales, and burned the town of Denbigh; but, was encountered and defeated by Sir Richard Herbert. After this action, Hardlegh castle surrendered at discretion; and, Sir Richard Tonstal, Sir Henry Bellingham, Sir William Stoke, and about fifty other gentlemen being taken it, were

The earl of
Pembroke
lands in
Wales.

A. C. 1468. sent prisoners to the Tower, where two of the number, condemned by the earl of Rivers as constable of England, were beheaded. With these Herbert, who was for this service created earl of Pembroke, sent a person who had brought letters from Margaret of Anjou; and he, in order to save his life, impeached, among others, the earl of Warwick; though the whole charge amounted to no more than that he had heard beyond sea, the earl favoured the cause of Margaret and her husband. Commissaries were sent down to Middleham to examine him, and they found the accusation groundless; though this fresh insult gave a keener edge to his resentment.

A. C. 1469.

George duke of Clarence marries the daughter of the earl of Warwick.

Wycestre.
Rymer.

The Widevilles had by this time rendered themselves so odious to the nobility and people, that they began to fear the consequences; and persuaded the king to mediate a reconciliation between them and the family of Warwick. With this view Edward set out for Nottingham, where he effected an accommodation between the archbishop of York and the earl of Rivers; a great council was afterwards held at Coventry, to which that prelate brought his brother Warwick, and reconciled him to the lords Herbert, Stafford, and Audley. The king was so well pleased with the archbishop's conduct on this occasion, that he restored to him the manor of Denley, and other lands which he had lost by the act of resumption. The accommodation between Warwick and those noblemen was so far from being sincere, that as soon as the ceremony was over, the earl repaired to his government at Calais, in order to execute a scheme of revenge which he had already projected. He knew that George duke of Clarence, the king's brother, was incensed against Edward and his ministry, who had excluded him from all advantageous offices, and all share in the administration; and, as he was, after
Elizabeth,

Elizabeth, presumptive heir to the crown, Warwick resolved to engage him in his interest. For this purpose he offered to him his daughter Isabel in marriage; and Clarence readily embraced an alliance that would put him in possession of one of the richest and most beautiful young ladies in England. This match alarmed Edward, who endeavoured to prevent it by intrigues and remonstrances at the court of Rome, to which the parties had applied for a dispensation: but, by this time, Warwick had entered into a private negotiation with the French king, by whose influence the dispensation was obtained, and the marriage celebrated in the church of Notre Dame at Calais.

While Warwick resided in this place, he seems to have felt the pulse of the English nation, by employing his emissaries to excite an insurrection in Yorkshire. The people refusing to contribute to the maintenance of the antient hospital of St. Leonard near York, they were prosecuted at law, and their effects distrained; and as they imagined the hospital subsisted by voluntary contribution, they looked upon those suits as the effect of oppression. This discontent was fomented to such a degree, that they took to their arms, and assembling to the number of fifteen thousand, began their march to the city of York, which was overwhelmed with consternation, until Warwick's brother Montague threw himself into the town with a small body of choice soldiers; and, in a sally, took Robert Hilyard their chieftain, commonly called Robin of Reddisale, whom he ordered to immediate execution. The peasants were not discouraged by this disaster; but, choosing Sir Henry Nevil, son of lord Latimer, and Sir John Conyers, for their leaders, they advanced to Danesmore in Northamptonshire, about three miles from Banbury. The king had ordered the earl of Pembroke to march against them,

Insurrection
in York-
shire.

A. C. 1469. them, at the head of twelve thousand Welshmen, and they were joined by Humphrey Stafford, lately created earl of Devon, at the head of five thousand archers; but, the two chiefs quarreling about lodgings in Banbury, they separated forces, and Pembroke hazarding an engagement, was defeated and slain. Sir Henry Nevil had been taken in a skirmish on the eve of the battle, and killed in cold blood; a circumstance which exasperated the Yorkshire men to such a degree, that they gave no quarter to the Welsh, five thousand of whom were slain on the field, or in the pursuit. The earl of Devon was seized in his return by the king's order, and beheaded at Bridgewater; and Richard earl of Rivers, with his son John, being taken at Grafton, by a detachment of the rebel army, lost their heads at Northampton, by command of Sir John Conyers, who without having done any further mischief, retired towards Warwick, to wait for the return of the earl from Calais, by whose direction he had hitherto proceeded.

Jealousies
fomented
between Ed-
ward and
the family
of War-
wick,

Whether Edward was ignorant of this connexion, or thought proper to temporize, certain it is, that when Warwick, and his son-in-law Clarence, arrived in England, and offered their assistance towards re-establishing the tranquillity of the kingdom, he received them with an appearance of satisfaction, creating Warwick chief justiciary of South Wales, constable of the castle of Cardigan, and seneschal of all the courts and forests in the shires of Carmarthen and Cardigan, offices vacant by the death of the earl of Pembroke. The king was likewise persuaded to grant a general pardon to Conyers and his followers, who had by this time increased to sixty thousand. As the nation in general was discontented, and Margaret of Anjou, with her son and a small body of troops, reported to be at Harfleur in Normandy, ready to embark,

and take advantage of the commotions in England, A.C. 1470^o
commissions of array were issued for raising the
militia of Norfolk, Suffolk, and other maritime
counties; and the queen's brother, Anthony, now
earl of Rivers, was sent to sea, with a strong squa-
dron, to prevent any attempts of the enemy. What-
ever were the king's sentiments towards Warwick,
he seems to have been bent upon making a friend
of his brother Montague, perhaps with a view to
lessen the power of the earl, which was very formi-
dable. In a great council held on the sixth day of
November, Edward asked the advice of the prelates
and nobility, about providing an husband for his
daughter Elizabeth, heir to the crown of England;
and they unanimously concurred in recommending
George, the son of Montague, as the most proper
match for the young princess. Their sentiments
on this subject being agreeable to those of Edward,
he, by letters patent, advanced that young noble-
man to the dignity of duke of Bedford. Such a
testimony of the king's favour could not but be
agreeable to Warwick and his brothers, who began
again to live in a friendly correspondence with Edward,
until it was interrupted by an artifice of the mini-
stry, who dreaded the revival of that family's in-
terest. The king, while he resided at Langley in
Hertfordshire, was invited by the archbishop of
York to an entertainment, at his seat of More-
park in that neighbourhood, and while the guests
were employed, according to the custom of the
time, in washing hands before supper, John Rat-
cliffe, afterwards lord Fitzwalter, told the king pri-
vately, that the archbishop had assembled an hun-
dred men at arms, to seize and convey his majesty
to the castle of Middleham. Edward, alarmed at
this intelligence, which was feigned for the purpose,
made a pretence to go out; and mounting his horse,
rode at full speed to Windsor. Such an abrupt re-
treat.

Stowe.
Fabian.

A. C. 1470. treat was construed into a gross affront by the archbishop as well as by Warwick, and his son-in-law Clarence, who imagined it was a concerted scheme to fix the imputation of perfidy on them and their adherents: the former animosity was rekindled by this circumstance, and both sides reproached one another with great bitterness.

Richard
Willes is de-
feated by
the king at
Stamford.

Cicely, dutchess of York, the king's mother, endeavoured to effect a reconciliation, and they met in her house of Baynard's castle; but their mutual jealousy was too deeply fixed to be eradicated at this interview. Nevertheless, Edward impowered Clarence and Warwick to array men in the counties of Warwick and Worcester, in order to suppress an insurrection in Lincolnshire, headed by Robert, the son of Richard lord Willes, Sir Thomas Dymock, and Sir Thomas de la Launde. The pretext for this commotion was the conduct of Sir Thomas Burgh, an officer of the king's household, who had oppressed the people; though it afterwards appeared that Warwick and Clarence had instigated the leaders to raise the disturbance. Edward sent for the lord Willes and Dymock to come to London, and give an account of the insurrection. They set out accordingly; but being informed on the road that the king was incensed against them as the authors of the rising, they took refuge in the sanctuary at Westminster, from whence they were drawn by the king's promise of pardon; and the lord Willes, by Edward's command, wrote a letter to his son, desiring he would lay down his arms, and submit to the king's mercy. To this injunction, however, Robert payed no regard; and Edward advancing with an army against him to Staniford, was so incensed at his obstinacy, that he ordered his father and Dymock to be beheaded. This act of barbarity enraged him to such a degree, that although his army consisted of raw, undisciplined

lined troops, and he expected to be joined by Warwick and Clarence, who had already assembled a strong body of forces, he resolved to revenge his father's death without delay, and attacked Edward with incredible fury, on the fourteenth day of March. The battle was maintained for some time with equal resolution on both sides: but, at length, the rebels were obliged to yield to the discipline and valour of the royal army, and were defeated with great slaughter. Ten thousand men are said to have been slain in this engagement; and the general, with Sir Thomas de la Launde, being taken prisoners, were beheaded immediately after the action.

Mean while Warwick and Clarence marched in to Lancashire, in hope of being reinforced by Thomas lord Stanley, who had married the earl's sister; and from thence they intended to advance into Yorkshire, where they expected to be joined by those insurgents who had risen under Sir John Conyers. In order to facilitate that junction, they employed emissaries to alarm them with reports that the king intended to revoke the pardon he had granted: they were disappointed however in both expectations. Stanley refused to embark in their undertaking, and the king got the start of them in Yorkshire, where he published a proclamation confirming the former amnesty. The two chiefs, being thus disappointed, retired to the western parts of England; and in their route surprised the earl of Rivers and lord Audeley, whom they confined in the castle of War-dour, from whence they were afterwards rescued by John Thornhill, a gentleman of Dorsetshire. While Clarence and Warwick were employed in Devonshire, in equipping a number of vessels to convey them and their families to Calais, Edward obliged Warwick's brother, John Nevil, to resign what he possessed of the Piercy estate, with his patent for the honour

The duke of Clarence and the earl of Warwick are pro-claimed traitors.

Rymer.
Frag. Ed.
IV.
Clause 10.
Ed. IV.

A. C. 1470. honour of Northumberland, and, by way of recompence, created him marquis of Montacute. In consequence of his resignation, Henry Piercy was declared earl of Northumberland, restored to all his estate, and appointed warden of the East and Middle Marches towards Scotland. John Tiptot, earl of Worcester, and constable of England for life, was constituted lord lieutenant of Ireland, in the room of the duke of Clarence; and a price set upon the heads of that prince and his father-in-law the earl of Warwick. At the same time the king published a declaration, representing that George duke of Clarence, and Richard earl of Warwick, had formed an unnatural design to dethrone his majesty; that they had encouraged Sir Robert Willes in his rebellion, with promise of succours, as appeared from the confession of the said Sir Robert and Sir Thomas de la Launde; that the king had summoned the duke and earl to his presence, to clear themselves of those accusations; but, instead of obeying his order, they had marched into Lancashire, in order to raise a greater number of forces, with which they hoped to execute their treacherous designs: that, notwithstanding these repeated acts of rebellion, he was still willing to forgive them, on their submission, and giving sureties for their future behaviour; and therefore summoned them to appear before him by the twenty-eighth day of March, on pain of being denounced rebels and traitors. As they paid no regard to this declaration, another was actually published at Nottingham, on the thirty-first day of March, declaring them rebels and traitors: offering rewards for taking them, and prohibiting all persons, on the severest penalties, from assisting them and their adherents.

Clause 10.
Ed. IV.

They retire
to France.

That his brother and Warwick might not have time to assemble an army in the West, Edward marched

marched thither with great expedition; and from Exeter issued commissions to the earl of Wilts, the lord Mountjoye, Sir John Fortescue, and others, for arraying men in Devon and Cornwall: but before these troops could be assembled, Clarence and Warwick embarked at Dartmouth. When they attempted to enter the harbour of Calais, the cannon of the place began to play upon them; so that they were obliged to stand out to sea; and the dutchess of Clarence falling in labour, was delivered of a son named Edward, who was afterwards earl of Warwick. The grandfather of the child was not a little mortified at this treatment from his own lieutenant Vaucler, a Gascon, who was prevailed upon to consent to the infant's being christened in the place, and found means to let the earl know the meaning of his unexpected behaviour. The place was not provided for a siege against the power of Edward and the duke of Burgundy: the inhabitants were apprehensive of losing their trade; and the lord of Duras, who was Warwick's enemy, commanded a good part of the garrison. Vaucler therefore advised the earl to retire into France; and depend upon his fidelity. Perhaps this Gascon played a double game, and resolved to declare for the strongest: but in the mean time his behaviour was very agreeable to Edward, who gratified him with the government of the place; while a pension of a thousand crowns was settled on him by the duke of Burgundy. Warwick, being obliged to admit of his excuses, sailed for Normandy, and landed at Honfleur, where he was courteously received by the bastard of Bourbon, lieutenant-general of the province; from thence he and his son-in-law set out for the court of France at Amboise, where he met with a very favourable reception.

Philip da
Comines.

Lewis would not intermeddle in the affairs of England, while the crown was in dispute between
Edward

A. C. 1470. Edward and Henry: but now that Edward had contracted such a firm alliance with the duke of Burgundy, his interest prompted him to effect the ruin of both, and his interest on this occasion co-operated with his desire of revenging the affront he had received from Edward in the affair of the marriage. Besides, the succours which that monarch intended for the duke of Brittany, plainly demonstrated, that while he should possess the throne of England, the princes of France would always have recourse to his protection. All these considerations concurred in favour of the English fugitives, to whom he promised a very powerful assistance. That the civil war, which he hoped to kindle in England, might rage with the greater violence, he resolved, if possible, to reconcile Margaret of Anjou and Warwick; and in the mean time sent for Margaret, who had retired to the habitation of her father. She looked upon Warwick as the author of all the miseries to which she and her family had been subjected; and the most rancorous and inveterate enmity subsisted between them: nevertheless the accommodation was easily effected, because they stood in need of each other. Warwick wanted a pretext for dethroning Edward, and the most plausible he could use was the restoration of Henry, which he could not undertake without the queen's concurrence. Margaret, on the other hand, saw no prospect of the re-establishment of her family but in the assistance of Warwick; and therefore made no scruple to ask the protection of her antient adversary. Lewis managed the treaty between them, which was concluded, on condition that the duke of Clarence and the earl of Warwick should exert all their endeavours for Henry's restoration; that the queen should engage upon oath to leave the administration in their hands, during the life of Henry, or the minority of his son, in case of his accession to the throne

Convention
between
Warwick
and Mar-
garet of An-
jou.

throne before he should be of age; and that the prince of Wales should marry Anne, the younger daughter of the earl of Warwick. This last article was immediately executed; so that the earl of Warwick became equally allied to the houses of York and Lancaster.

A. C. 1473.

Philip de Comines.

The duke of Burgundy, being informed by his spies of this transaction, transmitted an account of it to Edward, who payed very little regard to the intimation; believing that the earl of Warwick, who had been obliged to quit the kingdom for want of proper support, could never in his absence excite the people of England to rebel in his favour. He was not at all alarmed by the preparations of France, because he thought England could not be conquered by any foreign nation, unless the people should assist in enslaving themselves; and reasoning upon very precarious principles, namely, the affection of his subjects for his person and government, and Warwick's want of interest, he took no manner of precautions in his own defence, but indulged himself in all the pleasures of effeminacy and voluptuousness. While he abandoned himself to these delights, his ministry gratified their private resentment by committing acts of cruelty and oppression, which ruined the character of their master. John Clapham, one of Warwick's officers, with about twenty other gentlemen, being taken in a naval skirmish near Southampton, were condemned as traitors by the earl of Worcester, constable of England, and executed with such circumstances of barbarity as filled the spectators with horror. All persons of any consideration, suspected of affection to the house of Lancaster, were prosecuted, plundered, and forced into sanctuary or exile; a great number of these refugees retired to France, and gave an account of the temper of the nation to the earl of Warwick, whom they pressed to embark for his own country,

Edward brings over Clarence privately to his interest.

A. C. 1470. where all sorts of people ardently wished for his return. What contributed more than any other consideration to Edward's security, was the success of a private negotiation, into which he had entered with his brother Clarence. He won over to his interest a female domestic and favourite of the dutchess; and, after having tutored her for his purpose, granted her a passport, by virtue of which she crossed the sea unmolested to her mistress. She took the first opportunity of executing her commission, representing to the duke, in the name of his brother Edward, that by espousing the party of Warwick he contributed to his own ruin; for, if the designs of that nobleman should succeed, he could not imagine that the house of Lancaster would place any confidence in a prince of the family of York; or even suffer him to live, after they should have effected their purposes: that, far from depending upon the oath of Margaret, he ought to consider it as a snare laid for his destruction; the earl of Warwick would be the first to crush him, not only to remove a rival in the administration, but also to deliver himself from the designs of a prince, who might one day be in a condition to return the wrongs of his family: that his brother Edward having but one child, and that an infant, which death might remove, he was next heir to the crown; whereas, should the house of Lancaster be restored, he must resign all hopes of attaining that dignity, as Henry's son was healthy and vigorous, and would in all probability have a numerous issue. These arguments were reinforced by the considerations of consanguinity, and warm professions and promises from Edward in behalf of his brother Clarence, who being naturally easy, fickle, and irresolute, was convinced by these insinuations; and desired the agent to let the king his brother know, that he would not fail to declare in his favour, whenever an opportunity should offer of
doing

doing him any considerable piece of service. Edward was made acquainted with this declaration, which entirely banished every anxious reflexion; and he gave a loose to his pleasures, in full confidence that all Warwick's efforts would prove abortive, as he was no longer supported by the interest of Clarence.

A. C. 1470.
Biondi.
Habington.

While Edward lived in this deceitful security, the earl, having received a small supply in money and troops from Lewis, prepared for his voyage to England, under the convoy of some French ships of war, commanded by the Bastard of Bourbon. The duke of Burgundy however blocked up the mouth of the Seine, with a much more numerous fleet, in order to intercept Warwick, whom he affected to consider as a pirate; because, in his passage from Calais to Honfleur, he had taken and sold some Flemish vessels. Notwithstanding all the duke's precautions for preventing the earl's voyage, that nobleman repaired to Havre de Grace, and taking the opportunity of a storm that dispersed the Burgundian squadron, embarked and landed safely at Dartmouth, in the month of September. Edward rejoiced at his descent, in full persuasion that his design must miscarry, and his antagonist fall into his hands. In these sentiments he desired the duke of Burgundy would order his fleet to keep the sea, to intercept Warwick, in case he should attempt to make his escape; but he soon perceived the folly of his expectation. Warwick, immediately after his landing, was joined by such numbers of his countrymen, that in a few days he found himself at the head of sixty thousand fighting men, with whom he began his march against Edward, who had made a progress into the North, to quell an insurrection raised in Yorkshire by the lord Fitzhugh, married to Alice, sister of the earl of Warwick. His design, in all probability, was to make a diversion in favour of his brother-in-law; and in this he suc-

Warwick
lands in
England.

A. C. 1470. **ceeded.** At the king's approach he retired to Scotland, and Edward repaired to York, where he first heard that Warwick had landed and proclaimed Henry VI. king of England; publishing at the same time an order to all his subjects, from sixteen to sixty, to take arms against Edward, and expel the usurper.

Edward is
obliged to
leave the
kingdom.

The king immediately advanced as far as Nottingham, in his way to London; but, Warwick being resolved to engage him before he should reach that capital, where he knew he was very popular, came in sight of him within three miles of Nottingham, and prepared for battle. Edward was so weak as to depend upon the fidelity of the marquis of Montacute, though the brother of his adversary, and a nobleman whom he had so lately injured by depriving him of the great estate and honour of Northumberland. He had raised six thousand men, with whom he followed the king at some distance, as if his intention had been to reinforce his majesty; but, his real aim was to join his brother, and he had already concerted the affair with his officers. When he therefore understood that Warwick was so near the royalists, he quickened his march, in order to fall upon the rear of Edward, who had no intimation of his design until he was within two leagues of his camp, and the air resounded with the cries of Long live King Henry. In this emergency he called a council of war, in which the lord Hastings gave it as his opinion, that great part of the army would revolt to the earl of Warwick; or that even, though they should do their duty, they would not be able to cope with the rebels, since this defection of Montacute. He therefore advised his majesty to provide for his personal safety, by retreating to the sea-side, where he might find an opportunity to escape into Holland. As there was no time to be lost, Edward, in compliance with this
advice,

advice, set out at midnight for Lynne, without money or baggage, attended by eight hundred light horse: finding in the harbour of that town two or three ships bound for Holland, he instantly embarked with his brother Gloucester, and a small retinue; and, after having narrowly escaped a fleet of Easterlings, landed at Alkmar. In the morning after Edward's retreat, his army submitted to Warwick, who forthwith directed his march to London, which he entered in triumph on the sixth day of October, and removed Henry VI. from the Tower to the bishop's palace; while Edward's queen took refuge in the sanctuary of Westminster, where she was delivered of a son named Edward. A. C. 1470. Stowe. Fabian.

In consequence of this surprising revolution, which had been effected in eleven days, without bloodshed, all the judges, sheriffs, and coroners of the kingdom were changed: Lanstrotter prior of St. John's was appointed treasurer; the chancellor's office was conferred on the archbishop of York; the earl of Warwick was created admiral of England; and the duke of Clarence constituted lord-lieutenant of Ireland. On this occasion no life was taken but that of John Tiptot earl of Worcester, who seems to have been sacrificed to the public hatred, as a corrupted minister, and a monster of cruelty, for which he was so remarkable, that he acquired the appellation of John the Butcher. Being taken on the top of an high tree in the forest of Wavebrig, in Huntingdonshire, he was brought to London, tried in Westminster-Hall by John earl of Oxford, convicted of high treason, condemned, and beheaded on Tower-Hill. Writs were issued for summoning a parliament, which met on the twenty-sixth day of November. Edward was declared a traitor and usurper, his estate and effects were confiscated; all statutes made by his authority repealed, and the duke of Gloucester, and all his adherents, Henry re-ascends the throne.

A. C. 1470. attainted. The crown was settled upon Henry, and the male issue of his body ; and, in default thereof, on the duke of Clarence and his descendants : and this duke and the earl of Warwick, were constituted regents of the kingdom, during the young Edward's minority, according to the agreement of Amboise. Mean while Clarence was declared heir to his father the late duke of York, invested with all his possessions, and indulged with other advantageous grants of fee-farm rents, manours and honours, particularly, that of Richmond. The marquis of Montacute was pardoned for his late adherence to Edward ; and gratified for his last defection with the grant of Wresel and some other manours : the dukes of Somerset and Exeter, the earls of Oxford, Richmond, Pembroke, and Ormond, were restored to their estates and dignities ; and a compensation of two and twenty thousand marks, out of the estate of earl Rivers, allowed to Sir Thomas Cooke, who had been so cruelly prosecuted by that nobleman's father.

A. C. 1471.

Edward is coldly received by his brother-in-law the duke of Burgundy.

During these transactions in England, the fugitive Edward met with a very cold reception from his brother-in-law the duke of Burgundy, who would have been much better pleased with the news of his death, than with the account of his exile. While the king of England remained at the Hague, living at the expence of the lord Gruthuyfen, extremely mortified at the duke's coldness and neglect, that prince found himself involved in the utmost perplexity. Lewis XI. had declared war against him, and seized St. Quintin and Amiens ; and now that Edward was expelled from his throne, he was afraid of intailing upon himself the joint enmity of France and England, should he assist the exiled monarch. The dukes of Somerset and Exeter, who still continued at his court, pressed him strongly to abandon Edward, and even threatened him with

with the indignation of Henry, should he protect, or patronize the fugitive ; and the earl of Warwick had already sent a body of troops to Calais, that they might be at hand to join the French, and invade some province of the Low Countries. When the duke sent Philip de Comines to Calais to confirm the commercial truce between the inhabitants of that town and his Flemish subjects, he found Vaucler the governor with his garrison, and all the burghers, wearing Warwick's device, and professing their attachment to king Henry. Seeing no other way of succeeding in his negotiation, he observed, that the truce having been made with England, and not with the person of Edward, it ought not to be affected by the revolution in England ; and as the nation was very much interested in this trade, the truce was upon these principles, renewed.

Edward, impatient of his situation, after his sister the dutchess of Burgundy had in vain solicited her husband to take some vigorous steps in his favour, demanded an interview with that prince, which he could not with any decency refuse. At this conference, he represented that delays would be extremely prejudicial to his interest, as his friends and adherents in England would drop off, while Warwick would be every day more and more strengthened in the power and authority he had usurped ; that therefore, the duke ought either to assist him immediately, or abandon him intirely to his evil fortune. In order to reinforce this remonstrance, he imparted to him the engagement he had contracted with his brother Clarence : he reminded him of the oath by which he had bound himself to contribute his assistance, in case it should be wanted by Edward : he desired him to consider, that in assisting him in his distress, he would act for the benefit of his own family, which might one day

Who at length supplies him with ships and money.

A. C. 1471. need support and assistance; and at the same time have the glory of restoring a brother-in-law to his throne. He solemnly promised to unite with him in the closest connexion against France, as soon as he should be re-established; and observed, that the neutrality which the duke had hitherto observed, could answer no purpose for his advantage, nor even hinder Lewis and the earl of Warwick from taking measures for his destruction. This expostulation had an effect upon the duke of Burgundy; and, though he was still afraid of furnishing Warwick with a pretext to attack his dominions, he contrived an expedient, by which he was enabled to accommodate the fugitive king, without running the risque of a rupture with that formidable nobleman. He privately advanced a sum of money to certain individuals, who equipped four large vessels at Terver, which was a free port in Zealand; and engaged fourteen ships belonging to the Easterlings, to convoy Edward to England, on the coast of which they were directed to remain fifteen days after his landing, in order to carry him back, in case his efforts should not be attended with success. The king of England being thus supplied with ships and money, embarked at Terver; and he had no sooner disappeared from Holland, than the duke of Burgundy, by proclamation, prohibited all his subjects, on pain of death, from assisting him directly or indirectly. But, if the scheme of Edward had proved abortive, this artifice would not have deceived the earl of Warwick, who, at this period, concluded a long truce with Lewis, to serve in lieu of an alliance, which could not be immediately effected on account of Henry's pretensions to the crown of France; and at the same time, the earl sent the great prior of the order of St. John of Jerusalem, to conduct queen Margaret and the prince of Wales from France into England.

Comines.

Kymmer.

Edward

Edward sailing from Terver, with the lords Hastings, Say, and about fifteen hundred men, partly English, and partly Flemings, attempted to land on the coast of Essex; but, being repulsed by a brother of the earl of Oxford, he stood away to the northward, and made a descent at Ravenspur in Yorkshire, about the latter end of March, hoping, that he should be joined by the people of those parts, as soon as he should produce the letters of invitation he had received from the earl of Northumberland. But, he met with a very cold reception; and the inhabitants of Holderness took up arms to oppose his progress. He likewise understood by his emissaries, that the citizens of York were not at all disposed to receive him as sovereign of England. He therefore professed himself a liegeman to king Henry, wore the badge of the prince of Wales, which was an ostrich feather; and declared, that all he demanded was the duchy of his father. Trusting to the effect of these professions, and the affection of the people of York, of which he was intirely possessed, although the magistrates were devoted to Warwick, he marched towards that city, and was visited by a deputation of the aldermen, who desired that he would chuse another road, that they might not be under a necessity of refusing him admittance. He now again repeated his former declaration, touching his demand; and expostulated with them in a modest manner, upon the cruelty of refusing him admittance into a city, from which he derived his title, and on which he had conferred so many benefits; but, he depended more upon the attachment of the inhabitants, than the power of his eloquence; and was not disappointed in his expectation. His partisans excited a commotion in the city, and the magistrates went forth again to offer him the keys, and stipulate for their being exempted from pillage. Edward agreed to all their

A. C. 1471.
Edward
lands at
Ravenspur,
and makes
himself
master of
York.

pro:

A. C. 1471. proposals ; and being admitted into York, alighted at the cathedral, where by a solemn oath, he confirmed his former protestations, that he would remain a loyal subject to Henry, and with respect to his demand, touching his private inheritance, leave it intirely to the determination of parliament.

Fabian.
Polyd. Ving. Having thus obtained possession of York, he saw his army daily increase, and borrowed money of the citizens for their subsistence ; 'till at length, when he had assembled a considerable body of forces, he left a strong garrison in the place, and began his march for London.

Marches to
London. The news of Edward's landing had no sooner reached the court of England, than commissions of arrây were issued to the duke of Clarence, and the earls of Warwick and Pembroke, for raising forces to repel the invader : the marquis of Montacute, who had been lately appointed warden of the Scottish Marches, received an order to intercept Edward in his march to York, and engage him before he should be in a condition to fight with any prospect of success. Whether this nobleman had entered into a new engagement with Edward, or wavered in his resolutions between a weak prince already on the throne, and a powerful competitor, with whom he hoped one day to be joined by the alliance of that marriage which had been formerly projected ; certain it is, he remained quiet in his camp at Pontefract, and allowed Edward to pass unmolested, within four miles of his station. When this prince arrived at Nottingham, he was joined by Sir William Stanley, Sir William Parr, Sir Thomas Burgh, Sir William Norris, and a great number of other gentlemen with their vassals. This junction encouraged him to publish his claim to the crown ; and his number was every hour augmented, during his progress towards London. Mean while, the earl of Warwick having levied a body
of

of troops, advanced to Leicester, in order to join his brother Montacute, and receiving intelligence that Edward had taken the route to Coventry, he marched thither, with a view to hazard an engagement. When the two armies were in sight of each other, the earl received a letter from the duke of Clarence, giving him to understand that he was on the march to join him, and desiring, he would not give Edward battle until he should arrive with his forces. In compliance with this request, Warwick altered his resolution, and allowed his antagonist to proceed to London, believing that city would hold out until he should advance to its relief. This was a very flagrant piece of misconduct, even supposing him ignorant of the intelligence which the enemy carried on with the Londoners, as well as of the treachery of his own relations: he ought to have known, that the rich merchants, who had formerly lent sums of money to Edward, had no other prospect of payment than that of his restoration; that all the ladies were devoted to a prince of his gallantry and personal accomplishments, and would necessarily influence their husbands and kindred in his behalf; that the archbishop of Canterbury, the earl of Essex, with some other prelates and noblemen, were well-wishers to his cause; and, that the sanctuaries and franchises of London and Westminster contained above two thousand of his partisans, including four hundred knights and gentlemen, ready to take arms in his favour. Perhaps all these advantages might have proved ineffectual, had the archbishop of York, to whose care the person of Henry, and the city of London were committed, been true to the interest of his brother Warwick. But, he had by this time made his peace with Edward, who, by his connivance, was admitted into the city, and seized king Henry in the palace of the bishop of London. The arch-

A. C. 1471. bishop was apprehended at the same time, in order to save appearances, and committed to prison; but, in two days he was released, and indulged with a full pardon for all treasons and misdemeanours.

Rymer.
Leland.

Warwick is
defeated and
slain in the
battle of
Barnet.

Mean while Warwick being joined by his son-in-law Clarence, and his brother Montacute, advanced towards London; and, on the thirteenth day of April, encamped on a heath in the neighbourhood of Barnet, the town itself being possessed by the troops of Edward, who had marched thither from London to give him battle, in consequence of a message he had received from Clarence, importing that he would join him with all his forces. In the night that preceded the action, Richard duke of Gloucester repaired without any safe-guard to the tent of Clarence, where the two brothers embraced with all the marks of the most cordial affection; and after some private discourse, they went off together towards Edward's camp, with about twelve thousand followers. Immediately after this scandalous desertion, he sent a messenger to Warwick to excuse the part he had acted, and tell him he had made his peace with Edward, who had promised to pardon him upon his submission. But the earl rejected the proposal with disdain, either believing Edward insincere in his promise, or that he himself was still able to cope with him in the field of battle. In all probability his brother Montacute had found means to convince him of his fidelity, and was by this time determined to act heartily against Edward; otherwise he would, on this occasion, have imitated the example of Clarence. Early in the morning of the fourteenth day of April, the action began with incredible fury on both sides, which were exasperated against each other to the most virulent degree of rancour, that slighted friendship, personal animosity, and civil war could produce. The troops of Warwick, though inferior in number to the enemy, fought

fought with a kind of desperate resolution, foreseeing they should be treated as rebels if vanquished; and the earl himself was determined to conquer or die. Such was their impetuosity that Edward's first line was obliged to give ground: and some of his horse riding full speed to London, reported that he was utterly defeated. In this emergency, he ordered his body of reserve to advance and charge the enemy in flank; and this expedient was the more successful, as the earl of Oxford had pushed the Yorkists so far, that Warwick's main body was left defenceless. That nobleman, however, no sooner recollected this circumstance, than he wheeled about to resume his station; and that movement occasioned the loss of the battle. The device on his arms and ensigns was a star shooting forth rays; and that of Edward was a sun. The followers of Warwick seeing the star advancing through the medium of a fog, mistook it for Edward's standard, and fell upon their friends with such fury, that they were broken and dispersed before the earl of Oxford could rectify the fatal error. These last, believing themselves betrayed, fled towards the enemy with great precipitation. Other parts of Warwick's army seeing them fly, imagined they had been attacked in the rear, and of consequence that they themselves were surrounded: they began to be seized with consternation; the panic spread from rank to rank, and universal confusion ensued. Edward, taking the advantage of their disorder, charged them with redoubled vigour; and Warwick in vain used his utmost endeavours to rally and reanimate them by his own example. In former battles he had always fought on horseback, that he might ride along the line, and perceive at once the particulars of the action: but on this occasion he had sent away his horse, and determined to fight on foot, that his soldiers might see he was resolved to share their fate
in

A. C. 1471. in the issue of the day. Even this resolution contributed to his defeat ; because he could not be personally present at every place where the men stood in need of his direction and assistance ; and they were no longer encouraged by the sight of their commander. After having exerted all his capacity as an officer and hero, in fruitless attempts, he rushed into the hottest part of the battle, and fell covered with wounds ; and his brother Montacute, endeavouring to disengage him, met with the same fate. All opposition ended with the life of the two generals ; and about noon Edward obtained a complete victory over his enemies, five thousand of whom were left dead upon the field ; though the carnage would not have been so great had not the king forbid his soldiers to give quarter. The earl of Oxford fled into Wales, where the earl of Pembroke was employed in raising forces for the service of Warwick ; the duke of Exeter was wounded, stripped, and left for dead on the field, where he remained till the evening, when he recovered the use of his senses, and made shift to crawl to the house of one Rutland, where his wounds were cured ; but he was afterwards discovered and imprisoned in the Tower. Nor was the victory bloodless to Edward, who lost the lord Berners and fifteen hundred men, slain in the action. Such was the end of the famous earl of Warwick, who, from his great power, influence, military talents, and fortune, had acquired the epithet of the King-Maker. He was certainly a nobleman of great abilities and magnanimity ; and if he had not been betrayed by those in whom he chiefly confided, Edward would not have triumphed over the house of Lancaster. On the day that succeeded the battle, the king returned to London, and ordered the naked bodies of Warwick and Montacute to be exposed in the cathedral of St. Paul's, from whence they

were

were carried to Bisham in Berkshire, and interred in the priory founded by their ancestors of the house of Montacute. A. C. 1471.

Edward had not time to enjoy the fruits of his victory, before he was obliged to run the risque of another battle. Margaret of Anjou, after a tedious and dangerous passage, landed on Easter day at Weymouth in Dorsetshire, accompanied by the prince of Wales and Edmund duke of Somerset, with a small body of French forces. When she received the tidings of Warwick's death, and her husband's imprisonment, all her former courage seemed to forsake her: she was overwhelmed with grief and consternation; and took refuge with her son in the sanctuary of Beaulieu, a Cistercian monastery in Hampshire. Her spirits, however, revived, when she saw herself joined by John Courtenay earl of Devon, the viscount Beaumont, the lord Wenlock, Sir Hugh Courtenay, Sir John Beaufort, Sir Thomas Fulford, Sir John Fortescue, Sir Thomas Tresham, Sir Gervase Clifton, Sir Thomas Seymour, and other gentlemen with their vassals and adherents. She then took the field, and marching through the counties of Devon and Somerset, her followers increased to a very considerable army; until she advanced to Tewksbury in Gloucestershire, from whence she proposed to march towards Wales, and join the earl of Pembroke.

Margaret of Anjou lands at Weymouth.

This scheme, however, was defeated by the vigilance, and activity of Edward, who proscribed her and all her adherents by proclamation, and began his march immediately towards the banks of the Severne, in order to engage her before she should be joined by the earl of Pembroke. As she had been denied entrance into Gloucester, where she purposed to cross the river, she had marched to Tewkesbury with the same design; but Edward was so close

Is defeated at Tewkesbury.

A. C. 1471. close at her heels, that she could not pass the Severne without exposing her rear to destruction: it was therefore resolved in a council of war, that her army should be intrenched in a park adjoining to the town, and remain in that situation till the arrival of Pembroke. This scheme was immediately put in execution; and Edward coming up, resolved to attack them in their intrenchments before they should be better fortified or reinforced. For this purpose he drew up his army in two lines, one of which was commanded by his brother the duke of Gloucester, while he and Clarence took their station in the second. The duke of Somerset disposed the queen's army in three lines within the intrenchments; and he himself commanded the van, that he might sustain the first shock of the enemy. The second line was commanded by the lord Wenlock, under the prince of Wales, who was considered as general in chief; and the rear was conducted by the duke of Devonshire. Edward observing that Somerset had left some openings in the front, thro' which he proposed to sally, and being well acquainted with the impetuous disposition of that nobleman, directed his brother Gloucester, who began the attack, to decoy Somerset from his intrenchments, by giving ground and retreating with precipitation, until he should see the duke and his line in the open plain, and then to turn and renew the charge; in which case he should be properly sustained. Gloucester, being thus instructed, attacked the intrenchments with great vigour, and meeting with a very warm reception, retired in such hurry and seeming confusion, that the duke of Somerset believing they fled, sallied forth from his works to pursue them, after having sent an order to Wenlock to follow and sustain him, in case of emergency. The duke of Gloucester having drawn his antagonist into the open plain, practised with great success

cess the lesson he had received. His troops halting, were instantly ranged in their former order; and he led them back to the charge, to the astonishment and consternation of the enemy, who had begun the pursuit in some disorder, and were now so confounded, that, instead of standing the assault, they thought of nothing but saving themselves within their intrenchments. The duke of Somerset perceiving that the lord Wenlock had not stirred from his station to support the first line, was so incensed that he rode up and cleft his head with a battle-ax; and the duke of Gloucester entering the intrenchments with the fugitives, made a terrible carnage. The young prince of Wales, seeing all his army in confusion, did not know on which side to turn; and the duke of Somerset was so choaked with indignation, that he could hardly speak, much less take the necessary steps for reducing his troops to order. King Edward, following his brother with the second line, completed the overthrow of the queen's army, which was routed with great slaughter, the second and third lines having betaken themselves to flight, without striking one stroke. The earl of Devonshire and Sir John Beaufort were found among the dead, which amounted to three thousand; the duke of Somerset, the great prior of St. John, and about twenty other gentlemen, retired to the abbey-church, thinking they would have been safe in the sanctuary: from which, however, they were forcibly dragged to execution. The prince of Wales falling into the hands of his enemies, was brought into the presence of Edward, who, with an air of insolence, demanded how he durst presume to enter his kingdom in arms? To this arrogant question he replied, with great fortitude and dignity, that he had come to recover his father's crown and his own inheritance, which Edward had unjustly usurped. He had no sooner pronounced these words,

Fabian.
Stowe.

A. C. 1471.
 Prince Edward assassinated and the queen sent prisoner to the Tower.

which would have excited the admiration and esteem of a generous enemy, than Edward struck him on the face with his gauntlet, and retired; and this seems to have been a preconcerted signal to the dukes of Clarence and Gloucester, the lord Hastings, and Thomas Grey, the son of queen Elizabeth, who instantly fell upon him like so many wild beasts, and hewed him in pieces. His mother Margaret of Anjou, being found on the field of battle in a waggon, where she lay more dead than alive, was sent prisoner to the Tower, where she remained about four years, until the king of France payed fifty thousand crowns for her ransom. Such was the catastrophe of this French princess, whose ambition and arbitrary temper cost England oceans of blood and incredible misery, and involved herself and her whole family in ruin.

Revolt of the Bastard Falconbridge.

The battle of Tewkesbury, which was fought on the fourth day of May, extinguished the hopes of the house of Lancaster, though there was still a small army in the field, under the command of the earl of Pembroke: but this dispersed of its own accord, upon hearing the news of the engagement; and the earl, leaving the defence of Pembroke to Sir John Scudamore, fled into Brittany, with his nephew Henry the young earl of Richmond. While Edward was thus employed in the West, Thomas Nevil Bastard of Falconbridge, who had been created vice-admiral of the channel during the administration of Warwick, and lost his employment after the death of that nobleman, assembled some vessels, and enlisting a good number of vagabonds, and people of desperate fortune, cruized along the coast of Kent, exercising the trade of piracy. At length his followers increased to such a degree, that he ventured to make a descent at Sandwich; and was admitted into Canterbury by Nicholas Faunte the mayor. His number daily augmenting, he began

his march for London, at the head of seventeen thousand men; and on the fourteenth day of May entered the suburbs of Southwark, but found himself excluded from London-bridge by the citizens, who had by this time received the news of the battle of Tewkesbury. He detached part of his army cross the river, with orders to attack the city in three different places, while he himself should storm the bridge; and one of his detachments forced its way through Aldgate into the city, but was repulsed by the valour of alderman Robert Basset. This attempt miscarrying, and the insurgents deserting their leader, in consequence of the disappointment, Thomas embarked on board of his ships at Blackwall, and sailed round to Sandwich. Mean while Edward, returning to London with a body of three thousand men, pursued him to the place of his retreat, and reduced the town, after Nevil had made his escape by sea; but he was afterwards taken and executed at Southampton.

Fabian.

This insurrection in all probability hastened the death of the unfortunate Henry, who was found dead in the Tower, to which he had been confined since the restoration of Edward. The greater part of historians has alledged that he was assassinated by the duke of Gloucester, who was a prince of the most brutal disposition; while some moderns, from an affectation of singularity, affirm that Henry died of grief and vexation. This, no doubt, might have been the case; and it must be owned that nothing appears in history, from which either Edward or Richard could be convicted of having contrived or perpetrated this murder: but at the same time, we must observe some concurring circumstances that amount to strong presumptions against the reigning monarch. Henry was of a hale constitution, but just turned of fifty, naturally insensible of affliction, and hackneyed in the vicissitudes of fortune; so

Death of
king Henry
VI.

A. C. 1471. that one would not expect he should have died of age and infirmity, or that his life would have been affected by grief arising from his last disaster. His sudden death was suspicious, as well as the conjuncture at which he died, immediately after the suppression of a rebellion, which seemed to declare that Edward would never be quiet, while the head of the house of Lancaster remained alive: and lastly, the suspicion is confirmed by the characters of the reigning king and his brother Richard, who were bloody, barbarous, and unrelenting. Very different was the disposition of the ill-fated Henry, who, without any princely virtue or qualification, was totally free from cruelty and revenge: on the contrary, he could not, without reluctance, consent to the punishment of those malefactors who were sacrificed to the public safety; and frequently sustained personal indignities of the grossest nature, without discovering the least mark of resentment. He was chaste, pious, compassionate, and charitable, and so inoffensive, that the bishop, who was his confessor for ten years, declared, that in all that time he had never committed any sin that required penance or rebuke. In a word, he would have adorned a cloister, though he disgraced a crown; and was rather respectable for those vices he wanted, than for the virtues he possessed. He founded the college of Eaton near Windsor, and King's college in Cambridge, for the reception of those scholars who had begun their studies at Eaton. On the morning that succeeded his death, his body was exposed in St. Paul's church, in order to prevent unfavourable conjectures, and next day sent by water to the abbey of Chertsey, where it was interred; but it was afterwards removed, by order of Richard III. to Windsor, and there buried with great funeral solemnity.

Stowe.
Hellingshed.

Edward being now firmly established on the throne of England, assembled on the third day of July, ten bishops, five dukes, six earls, fourteen barons, Sir William Courtenay, and ten other considerable knights in the Parliament-Chamber, where they swore they would maintain and support the succession of the crown in his family; and took the oath of eventual allegiance to his son Edward, whom he had just created prince of Wales, duke of Cornwall, and earl of Chester. The king granted a pardon to William Wainfleet bishop of Winchester, and seven other prelates who had been partisans of the house of Lancaster; but George Nevil archbishop of York, to whose interest his restoration was in a great measure owing, he sent into exile, and imprisoned in the castle of Guisnes for several years, during which Edward enjoyed the revenues of his see, after having seized all his other effects. The dignity of great chamberlain of England, vacant by the death of Warwick, was conferred upon Richard duke of Gloucester, who afterwards resigned it to Clarence, upon being promoted to the office of constable. The government of Calais was bestowed upon Anthony Wideville earl of Rivers, the queen's brother: but the garrison refused to admit any person in that quality, except the lord Hastings, who was therefore appointed governor; and Sir John Howard was nominated his deputy. The remaining part of the year was employed in negotiations with different potentates. The truce with Scotland had been frequently violated during the troubles; and as the sentiments of both kings were altogether pacific with respect to each other, a congress was opened at Alnewick, to adjust and compromise all differences: the truce was confirmed, but the negotiation continued two years, during which the English ambassadors were instructed to propose a match between the Scottish

Rymer.
Hist. Croy-
land.

Treaties
with diffe-
rent powers

A. C. 1471. king and a princess of England. On the thirtieth day of September, the truce for thirty years with Brittany was confirmed; and another was concluded for eight months with Lewis XI. king of France, though Edward had very little reason to be satisfied with the conduct of that monarch: but his kingdom being quite exhausted by the civil wars, he was not yet in a condition to execute the schemes of his resentment. He did not, however, depend so much upon these treaties, as to neglect the necessary means for putting his kingdom in a posture of defence. He convoked a parliament, which met on the sixth day of October, and obtained from the commons a supply for the maintenance of thirteen thousand archers, together with a tenth from the lords spiritual and temporal. During this session, commissioners were appointed to treat with the deputies of the Hanse towns, about renewing the ancient league between England and that alliance, which had been violated by depredations in the course of the civil war. A difference of the same nature with the Flemings was also accommodated; and the old confederacy with Portugal confirmed by letters patent.

The earl of Oxford makes an attempt in Wales.

While Edward thus endeavoured to strengthen his throne with foreign alliances, his tranquility was a little invaded by the return of the earl of Oxford, who had retired to France after the battle of Tewkesbury. This nobleman, meeting with a very cold reception from Lewis, assembled about one hundred men of desperate fortunes, and landing at St. Michael's Mount in Cornwall, took the place by surprize. The king, alarmed at this exploit, ordered a detachment of troops to march against him before he should have time to form an army; and being invested, he surrendered on promise of life; but he lost his liberty and estate, which Edward confiscated, without allowing the least trifle for the

the subsistence of his countess, who was sister to the A. C. 1472.
 earl of Warwick ; and he himself was conveyed to the castle of Hammes near Calais, where he remained twelve years a prisoner. John Holland duke of Exeter, who had been left for dead on the field at Barnet, retired to the sanctuary at Westminster ; and intreated his wife, who was Edward's sister, to employ her good offices in his behalf : they had lived separate since the beginning of the civil war. She was now so far from befriending him with her brother, that she desired the separation might be confirmed by law ; and she obtained her request, although no sufficient cause could be shewn for such confirmation. The duke, seeing himself precluded from all hope of pardon, and tired of living in confinement on the charity of a few friends, quitted his asylum so privately, that no person knew the time or manner of his retreat ; and in about two years after he disappeared, his body was found on the sea-side in the county of Kent. This nobleman was the last branch of the house of Lancaster that could give Edward any disturbance, except the earl of Richmond, who resided at the court of Brittany with his uncle Pembroke ; and although these were in no condition to interrupt the quiet of his reign, he eagerly desired to have the young earl in his power. For this purpose he sent ambassadors to the duke of Bretagne, demanding they should be delivered up : but that prince would not so far violate the laws of hospitality, as to comply with his demand ; though he assured Edward he would keep them in such a manner, that they should never disturb his government ; and in consideration of this promise the king payed a yearly pension, on pretence of a maintenance for the two prisoners. The fears of Edward being appeased by this convention, he testified his gratitude to Lewis de Bruges lord of Gruthuysen, by whom he had been so hospitably

A. C. 1472. entertained in Holland, and created him a peer of England by the title of earl of Winchester, after he had been naturalized by the parliament.

Act. Pub.

The duke
of Burgundy
invades
France.

During these transactions in England, Lewis XI. of France understanding that there was a treaty of marriage on foot between his brother the duke of Guienne, and the daughter of Charles duke of Burgundy, resolved to prevent an alliance which must have formed such an intimate connexion between his own family and that house which he wanted to humble: he therefore caused a dose of slow poison to be administered to the duke of Guienne. In the mean time he concluded a truce for a whole year with the duke of Burgundy, who willingly agreed to the suspension, as he had already lost Amiens and St. Quintin by the war, which of himself he was not able to maintain. In a few weeks after the conclusion of this treaty the duke of Guienne died, and Lewis seized his dutchy without opposition. Then the duke of Burgundy perceived that he had been duped by the French king, who had negotiated the truce, that he might be at liberty to execute his design upon Guienne; and he was so inflamed with resentment at finding himself over-reached, that he entered France with an army, wasting the country with fire and sword. The duke of Brittany, whose schemes were frustrated by the death of the duke of Guienne, resolved to join Burgundy in earnest, as the only means practicable for their mutual preservation; but Lewis suspecting that he would take this resolution, had already ordered a body of troops to assemble in Anjou, in order to overawe his conduct. Mean while Charles made himself master of Nesle and Roye, and invested Beauvais, which, however, he could not reduce. From thence he marched into Normandy, in hope of being joined by the duke of Bretagne, who could not stir from his own domi-

nions ; though Lewis by keeping his army in Anjou, left Normandy and Picardy at the mercy of the Burgundians. At length, however, the French king found means to make a separate truce with Brittany ; and the duke of Burgundy finding himself abandoned by his ally, followed his example in concluding a truce with Lewis, which was frequently prolonged.

The succeeding year is very barren of events in England, where the parliament, which had been prorogued, met on the eighth day of February, and granted a fifteenth as an additional subsidy to the tenth which had been voted in the preceding session. This assembly was again prorogued to the sixth day of October, when an act was passed for the resumption of all grants of lands and offices, in order to improve the king's revenue. The king of Portugal, in this interval, demanded the restitution of some vessels which had been taken by the English from his subjects ; but as it appeared in the course of the enquiry, that they had been pillaged by the Bastard of Falconbridge during his rebellion, the king of Portugal desisted from his demand. The treaty of Alnewick, which had been long depending, was now concluded to the satisfaction of the English and Scottish nations. The disputes with the Hanse towns were amicably terminated, and the antient alliance was renewed with Denmark.

A. C. 1473.

The parliament passes an act of resumption.

Rot. Parl.

Rymer.

Immediately after the conclusion of the truce between France and Burgundy, Charles had invaded Guelderland, as a donation made to him by Arnold duke of that country, who had quarrelled with his own son Adolphus. On this pretence the duke of Burgundy entered Guelderland, defeated and took Adolphus, and reduced the whole dutchy under his dominion. Then he resolved to extend his conquests on the side of Germany, as soon as an opportunity should offer. A contest for the archbishopric

A. C. 1474.

The duke of Burgundy undertakes the siege of Nuys.

A. C. 1474. bishopric of Cologne happening between Robert of Bavaria and the brother of the landgrave of Hesse, he espoused the cause of the former, and undertook the siege of Nuys, a strong town in the archbishopric, which he hoped to reduce before the expiration of his truce with Lewis : but that prince, by his intrigues, raised such obstacles to his success, as he could by no means surmount. At his instigation the emperor Frederic raised a numerous army, to compel him to raise the siege ; and a confederacy was formed against him by the Swiss, the dukes of Austria and Lorraine. Thus circumstanced, he saw no other way to free himself from the persecution of Lewis, but that of prevailing upon Edward king of England, to make a powerful diversion in France ; and for this purpose he sent ambassadors to London while he continued at Nuys, which he besieged for ten months without success. In order to engage Edward in his views, he promised to join him with all his forces, as soon as he should make a decent in Picardy ; he flattered him with the hope of St. Quintin's being delivered to him by the constable of St. Pol, and of the duke of Bretagne's entering into their association. He at the same time amused the English monarch with an account of a correspondence which he maintained with the French princes, and persuaded him that the conquest of France would be much easier at this juncture, than it had been during the reign of the sixth Charles.

Mexorai
Comnes.

Edward con-
cludes five
separate
treaties with
that prince.

Edward longed with impatience for such an opportunity of being revenged upon Lewis ; and every thing seemed to conspire to the ruin of that turbulent prince, who would not have been able to cope with three such formidable enemies, had they acted against him with unanimity : but the sole aim of Charles was to procure such a diversion in France, as would prevent Lewis from interrupting his own progress

progress in Germany. Nevertheless, he pretended to be hearty in his resolution to assist Edward in making a conquest of France, and invested his ambassadors with full powers to treat on this subject. The conferences were immediately begun by the plenipotentiaries of both sides; and in July, they signed divers treaties relating to that important enterprise. The first was a league of friendship, alliance, and confederacy, between Edward and the duke of Burgundy, who engaged to assist each other with all their power. The second comprehended certain particular conventions, relating to the war against France. These imported, That Edward should invade France before a certain specified time, at the head of ten thousand men at least, in order to recover his dutchies of Guienne and Normandy, together with the whole kingdom: That the duke of Burgundy should personally assist him with all his forces, in the execution of this design: That the king should listen to no proposal of peace or truce, without the duke's consent; and that the duke should act in the same manner with respect to Edward: That both princes should proclaim war against Lewis as their common enemy: That, if either of them should be besieged, or find it necessary to give battle, the other should join him with all his forces, and at his own expence, that they might share the same fate; and that their lieutenants should act on the same principle: That immediately after the declaration of war, the two allies should attack their common enemy in the most convenient places, and in such a manner as that they should be at hand to assist each other: That the war being once begun, one party should not desist while the other should proceed with his operations; and, that in case of one's being absent, his lieutenant should obey the other in every thing relating to the common advantage of the allies. The third treaty regulated the
number

A. C. 1474. number of troops that each obliged himself to furnish for the expedition : and the fourth contained a donation to the duke of Burgundy, of several provinces in France, with which Edward promised to recompence his friendship and assistance. The fifth convention related to the payment of the troops furnished by the duke of Burgundy ; and the last was expedited in form of letters patent, by which the duke impowered and allowed Edward and his successors, kings of France, to enter Rheims, and be consecrated with the holy oil, without molestation. This article was necessary, because all Champagne was ceded to Charles as part of the donation.

Rever.

*He prepares
for an expedition into
France.*

We are not to suppose that either party imagined France could be conquered by the forces they intended to assemble for this expedition. They endeavoured to deceive one another ; for as we have already observed, the duke had no other view than that of making a diversion, and Edward's ambition was limited to the recovery of Normandy and Guienne. Those treaties being ratified, and approved by the parliament in its fifth session, which granted the necessary supplies, the king began to issue commissions for levying troops ; and in the mean time, sent ambassadors to different courts of Europe, to form new alliances, or at least prevent the union of the several powers with his enemy. The peace with Scotland was cemented by a contract of marriage between Edward's second daughter Cecilia, and James the son and heir of James III. king of that country ; and the parties being infants, were affianced by proxy. In the mean time, Edward engaged to pay twenty thousand marks as her portion, at different terms, on condition of retouching the sum, in case the marriage should not take effect. The truce was prolonged for six and forty years ; and the two kings engaged mutually

to assist each other in suppressing all rebellions. Ed. A. C. 1474.
 ward having taken these prudent precautions to A. C. Pub.
 screen his dominions from hostile invasion, carried
 on his preparations with redoubled vigour; and as
 the subsidies granted by parliament would not an-
 swer the expence of the expedition, he solicited a
 benevolence or free-gift from his subjects, accord-
 ing to their abilities. This expedient succeeded to A. C. 1475.
 his wish. Some contributed with a good grace;
 others were gained over by the eloquence and insinua-
 tion of Edward: the female sex exerted them-
 selves in favour of a prince whom they admired.
 Many individuals chose rather to part with their
 money, than run the risque of incurring his indig-
 nation; and a war with France was a very popular
 pretence at this juncture. The king did not scruple
 to visit particular persons, and receive their assis-
 tance in person. Among others, he addressed him-
 self to a rich widow, who told him she could not
 help contributing twenty pounds to a handsome
 young prince who begged with such a good grace:
 Edward, in return for this compliment, approached,
 and kissed her with great cordiality; and she was so
 well pleased with the unexpected honour, that she
 doubled her benevolence. Of the new levies three
 thousand men were destined for the service of the
 duke of Brittany, who, though he had changed his
 truce with Lewis into a perpetual peace, no sooner
 understood that a league was formed by the king of
 England and the duke of Burgundy, than he pri-
 vately desired to be comprehended in the treaty;
 and his request being granted, this body of troops,
 commanded by the lords Audley and De Duras,
 was destined for his defence. Rymer.

Edward having assembled an army of fifteen hun-
 dred men at arms, fifteen thousand archers on
 horseback, and a great number of infantry, ap-
 pointed his son Edward prince of Wales, though an
 infant,

He lands
 with his
 army at
 Calais.

A. C. 1475. infant, guardian of the kingdom, and embarked at Sandwith for Calais, on the twentieth day of June; though he was so ill provided with transports, that he spent three weeks in conveying his troops to the continent. On his arrival at Calais, he sent an herald to summon Lewis to deliver up the crown and kingdom of France, which he usurped; and, in case of a refusal, to denounce war and vengeance. The French king having heard the herald's message without emotion, replied, he was well informed, that Edward had not taken this violent step of his own accord, but at the instigation of the duke of Burgundy, and the constable de St. Pol; and, desired him to tell his master, that he would be deceived by both these allies. He asked several questions; and by the herald's answers, understood that the properest persons to whom he could address himself, in case he should have occasion to make proposals of peace, were the lords Howard and Stanley: then he presented the messenger with three hundred crowns, and thirty yards of velvet for a robe, and dismissed him with great courtesy.

Is disappointed by
the duke of
Burgundy.

Mean while Edward advanced into Picardy, where he expected to be joined by the duke of Burgundy: but that prince, instead of fulfilling his engagement with his ally, was still employed in the siege of Nuys. He obstinately persisted in that enterprize, although the emperor had approached the place with an army four times as numerous as that which he commanded, and harrassed him in such a manner, that he could not proceed with his operations; at the same time Sigismund duke of Austria made himself master of Feretti, the duke of Lorraine ravaged Luxemburg, and his truce with France was no sooner expired, than Lewis reduced Roze, Corbie, and Montdidier. Notwithstanding all this opposition, he would not raise the siege until Edward

ward threatened to renounce his alliance ; then he A. C. 1475
 consented, that the place should be delivered into
 the hands of the pope's legate, in order to be dis-
 posed of according to the arbitration of his holiness :
 but, when he raised the siege, his army was in such
 a condition, that he was obliged to put the troops
 in quarters of refreshment, while he himself set out
 with a small body to excuse himself in person to
 Edward. The king of England could hardly digest
 this conduct of his ally ; and began to perceive,
 that he had engaged in war for the interest of ano-
 ther power, instead of its being undertaken for the
 support of his own pretensions. He was still more
 confirmed in this opinion, when he saw the duke
 of Burgundy would not suffer his troops to enter
 Peronne, except in small unarmed companies ; and
 that the constable of St. Pol refused to deliver up
 St. Quintin, which he had promised to put into the
 hands of Edward, as a pledge for his observance of
 the treaty. Edward finding himself thus abandon-
 ed by the duke of Burgundy and the constable,
 while the duke of Bretagne took no step towards
 the performance of articles, and the malcontents of
 France did not seem inclined to raise the least com-
 motion ; was equally mortified and perplexed in his
 resolution ; and heartily repented of having em-
 barked in the expedition.

While he remained thus embarrassed in his
 thoughts, a French gentleman, who had been taken
 prisoner, was released by his order ; and the lords
 Howard and Stanley desiring him to present their
 respects to the king of France, he complied with
 their desire. Lewis concluded from this compli-
 ment, that the court of England wanted to enter
 into a negotiation, but were unwilling to make the
 first advance ; and as he himself had no scruples of
 that nature, he resolved to spare Edward the confu-
 sion of soliciting a treaty. He forthwith ordered a
 herald's

Concludes a
 separate
 peace with
 Lewis.

A.C. 1475 herald's coat to be made for a man, with whose discretion and address he was well acquainted; and having instructed him for the purpose, sent him to the English army, to demand a safe-conduct for the ambassadors of France, that they might come and treat of a pacification. He addressed himself to the lords Howard and Stanley; and they introduced him to the king, who received his message in good part, granted the safe-conduct which he demanded, and dismissed him with a considerable present. The lord Stanley, and two other noblemen, were appointed as plenipotentiaries to treat with the French ambassadors, in the neighbourhood of Amiens, between the two armies; and, on the twenty-eighth day of August, the peace was concluded, on condition, That Lewis should pay seventy-five thousand crowns, to indemnify Edward for the expence of the armament; on the receipt of which, the king of England should immediately retire with his forces: That Lewis should likewise grant him an annuity of fifty thousand crowns: That the dauphin of France should marry the princess Elizabeth, daughter of Edward, and settle sixty thousand livres a year upon her as a jointure: and, That neither party should encourage civil wars in the other's kingdom; but that both should assist each other in suppressing the rebellion of their subjects. On this occasion it was also agreed, That Margaret of Anjou should be set at liberty for the ransom of fifty thousand crowns, which Lewis paid, on her father's engaging to convey to him and his heirs the succession of Provence and Anjou, which he inherited as the descendant of Beatrix, daughter of Raymund Berenger II. count of Provence.

Comines.
Rymer.

The duke of Burgundy no sooner understood that a treaty was on the carpet, between Lewis and Edward, than he repaired to the English army, in order

A. C. 1475.

Interview
between the
two kings
on the
bridge of
Pequigny.

der to prevent its taking effect ; but, before he arrived, the peace was ratified, and Edward gave him to understand, that he might, if he would, be comprehended in the treaty, together with his other allies, the duke of Bretagne and the constable. Charles was so incensed at this accommodation, that he rejected Edward's offer with disdain, and returned to his own country glowing with resentment against the king of England. The constable exerted all his endeavours in persuading Edward to renounce the treaty. He even offered to deliver St. Quintin into his hands, and accommodate him with the loan of fifty thousand crowns . but the English monarch was not so weak as to recommence the war upon the promises of a person whom he had great reason to suspect of insincerity. Before his return to England, he and Lewis agreed to have an interview on the bridge of Pequigny, with a barrier between them. The French king was accompanied by the cardinal of Bourbon, and five other noblemen, and Edward was attended by some of the English nobility. After they had ratified the treaty upon oath, Lewis invited Edward to Paris, where he said the ladies would endeavour to entertain him agreeably, and should he be tempted to commit any piccadillo, he should have for his confessor the cardinal of Bourbon, who would not be very rigid in point of penance. The two kings rallied one another with great good humour, until Lewis made a signal for his attendants to withdraw : the English likewise retired on their side, and their masters conferred together a considerable time ; their conversation turned upon the duke of Burgundy, Bretagne, and the constable. Lewis desiring to know the sentiments of Edward touching these three allies ; the king of England told him, that if the duke of Burgundy and the constable should refuse to be comprehended in the treaty, the king

A. C. 1475. of France might act towards them according to his own pleasure; but, that should the duke of Brittany be attacked, he would assist him with all his power. The tenderness which Edward expressed for that prince, proceeded from his having in his power the sole remaining branch of the house of Lancaster, by whose means he could at any time have raised commotions in England; and therefore Edward thought proper to cultivate the duke's friendship. Lewis did not press him upon this subject; and the two kings parted very well satisfied with each other.

Lewis gives
pensions to
the English
counsellors.

The French king repaired to Amiens, accompanied by the lord Howard, who remained as hostage for Edward's performance of articles; and this nobleman, while the king washed his hands, gave his majesty to understand, that Edward was not averse to an excursion to Paris. Lewis made no reply to this insinuation, until it was repeated; and then he said, that the war in which he was engaged with the duke of Burgundy would not permit him to go to Paris; and therefore he was sorry he could not have the honour of receiving the visit of the king of England. He dreaded nothing so much as Edward's taking a liking to France; and, above all things, wished he would return to his own kingdom. He was so apprehensive of his retracting his engagements that he distributed considerable pensions among the principal members of Edward's council, that they might use their influence in preventing an infraction of the truce. The English army approaching Amiens, he ordered the gates to be thrown open, and all the inn-keepers of the place to treat the soldiers at his expence; nay, he sent three hundred waggon loads of wine to Edward's camp, as a present to the army. All this generosity and compliment was the effect of fear, from which he was at length delivered by the departure of the English, who returned to their own country,

country, extremely well pleased with their entertainment. The duke of Burgundy, when his choler subsided, accepted a separate truce, which was offered to him by Lewis: and the constable seeing himself deserted by his allies, retired into the duke's dominions, on the faith of a safe-conduct: notwithstanding which, he was delivered up to Lewis, who ordered him to be beheaded as a traitor.

Com'nes.

Edward, hoping, that the friendship he had expressed for the duke of Brittany, would render that prince more propitious to his great aim of getting the earl of Richmond into his hands, sent ambassadors to his court, on pretence of renewing the truce, which was confirmed without difficulty; and this affair being transacted, they proceeded to unfold the real design of their embassy. They told him, that the king their master was extremely desirous of extinguishing the embers of those factions which had raged with such violence in England: that the earl of Richmond being the only surviving prince of the house of Lancaster, his intention was, to match him with one of his own daughters, that the two houses might be united by such an alliance; he therefore hoped the duke of Brittany would give up the earl, that he might distinguish him by marks of his bounty, and convince the world of his extreme desire to establish the peace and tranquility of his kingdom. The duke of Brittany, either believing Edward sincere in his professions, or convinced by the present of a large sum of money, ordered the young earl, and his uncle Pembroke, to be put into the hands of the ambassadors, who immediately set out with their prize for St. Malo, in order to embark for England. Before they reached that port, however, the duke changed his mind, either through remorse, or suspicion of Edward's intent: and forthwith dispatched his favourite Peter Landais to St. Malo, to reclaim the refugees. He

Edward endeavours to get the earl of Richmond into his hands.

A. C. 1476. arrived just as they were going to embark, and gave such directions to the people who attended him, that while he amused the ambassadors, the earl of Richmond, and his uncle Pembroke, found means to escape, and take sanctuary in a church, from whence Landais would not suffer them to be taken. The ambassadors loudly complained of this artifice; and he made some frivolous apologies, which they would by no means admit: then he frankly told them, that the duke his master having reflected on the subject, thought he could not deliver up his guests without trespassing against the laws of honour and hospitality; but, he assured them the two earls should be guarded in such a manner as would effectually prevent them from interrupting the peace of England.

Charles
duke of
Burgundy
is routed
and slain at
Nancy in
Lorraine.

Immediately after the duke of Burgundy had signed the truce with Lewis, he marched against the duke of Lorraine, and subdued his whole country, without having met with any considerable resistance: then he proposed a scheme for humbling the Swiss, who had declared against him while he was employed in the siege of Nuys; and the pretext he used for denouncing war against them, was, the injury they had done to Jaques de Savoy, count de Romont, whom they had expelled from his territories. The Swiss, terrified at the impending storm, solicited peace with great submission: but he remained inexorable; and marching from Lorraine through Burgundy, entered the country of Vaux, in which he took three or four places without difficulty. Then he invested Grançon, which was garrisoned by eight hundred Swiss, who made a very gallant defence. At length they were obliged to submit, and the duke ordered them to be put to the sword, in contempt of the capitulation. Hearing that another body was on the march to their relief, he advanced against them with his whole army,

army, and detached an hundred archers on horse-back, to take possession of a defile in the mountains, through which the Swiss were obliged to pass, in their route to the open country. These archers, being encountered by the enemy, retreated with precipitation towards the army, which, on the supposition of their being pursued by the Swiss, was seized with such a panic that it fled in the utmost confusion, in spite of all the efforts of the duke; who though he lost but seven men at arms on this occasion, was obliged to leave all his baggage in the hands of the enemy. Yet far from being discouraged by this accident, he re-assembled his troops; and in fifteen days invested Morat, a small town in the neighbourhood of Berne. Mean while the Swiss, having received reinforcements from several princes, began their march to the number of thirty thousand men; and, giving the duke battle, he was entirely defeated with great slaughter. He was so shocked at this overthrow, that he fell sick of grief and mortification, and kept himself concealed in a village called La Riviere, for six weeks, during which, he refused all consolation: and now divers princes, who had been formerly his friends, renounced his alliance, and joined his enemies. The duke of Lorraine seized this opportunity of investing Nanci, and gained the place by composition, before the duke of Burgundy took any step towards its relief; but after it had surrendered, that prince approached with his army, and, the enemy retiring, he undertook the siege, which was the cause of his ruin. The duke of Lorraine, having received reinforcements from different quarters, and assembled a strong army, by means of a considerable sum of money, with which he was furnished by the French king, advanced towards Nanci, and encamped at St. Nicholas, in order to see the effect of a correspondence which he maintained with a Neapolitan

A. C. 1477. officer, called Campo Basso, who enjoyed the confidence of the duke of Burgundy. The town was already reduced to extremity, when that prince drew up his army in order of battle ; and then Campo Basso deserted to the enemy with two hundred men at arms, leaving fourteen accomplices, whom he had instructed to infect the Burgundians with a panic ; and to slay the duke during the engagement, should they find an opportunity. The battle was fought on the fifth day of January, when the duke of Burgundy was routed and slain, in the forty-sixth year of his age, after having reigned nine years and a half, in continual agitation, endeavouring to execute plans which were projected by the most extravagant and presumptuous ambition.

Comines.

His daughter Mary is married to the archduke Maximilian.

The death of this imperious prince produced great changes not only in the affairs of the Low Countries, but even in those of all the neighbouring princes. He left but one daughter, called Mary, heiress of his extensive dominions, whom he intended to match with Maximilian of Austria, son of Frederic emperor of Germany. The princess, who was nineteen years of age, succeeded to her father at a time when her family was deserted by all its antient friends ; so that she was exposed in a peculiar manner to the avarice of Lewis VI. who forthwith seized Burgundy, and the towns situated upon the Somme ; and formed a scheme for depriving her of all the rest of her dominions. In this distress she implored the assistance of England, whose interest it was to oppose the projects of the French king ; but that prince had corrupted the whole council of Edward, who could afford nothing in behalf of Mary but unavailing compliments ; and what completed the misfortune of this orphan princess, was the rebellion of the inhabitants of Ghent, who seized and confined her person, beheaded two of her counsellors, and forced upon her
a new

a new council composed of their creatures. Several princes, allured by this noble inheritance, resolved to demand Mary in marriage. The dauphin of France hankered! after this match; but Lewis had already entered into engagements with Edward, whom he did not choose to disoblige at such a juncture. The duke of Guelderland and divers German princes aspired at this alliance; and in the month of May the emperor sent ambassadors to Ghent, to renew the negotiation for a match between the princess and his son Maximilian. The dutchess dowager desired her brother the king of England, to send envoys to Flanders, to assist her in negotiating this affair, and so far he complied with her request; but he could not be persuaded to assist Mary against the French king, who still continued extending his conquest at her expence; on the contrary, Edward prolonged the truce of Amiens, from the term of seven years till one year after the death of either party, acting diametrically opposite to the interest of England, in conniving at the ruin of the house of Burgundy, to aggrandize the power of Lewis. But by this time Edward was grown corpulent, and unfit for carrying on a war in person: he was dissuaded from engaging in behalf of Mary by his counsellors, who were pensioners of France; and he was extremely unwilling to take any step which might obstruct the marriage between the dauphin and his daughter Elizabeth; besides, Lewis was very punctual in the payment of the fifty thousand crowns; a gratuity which he was very loth to forego. Mary of Burgundy, being thus abandoned by all those from whom she had reason to expect effectual assistance, consented to wed Maximilian, though she knew he was in no condition to defend her territories. The marriage was celebrated in July; and Lewis, in token of his regard for the emperor, not only granted a truce of one year to the

A. C. 1477:

Mezerai.

Rymer.

A. C. 1477. new duke of Burgundy, but also restored some places
Mezerai. which he had reduced in Hainault.

Edward be- Edward, now being at peace with all his neigh-
comes indo- bours, and his kingdom enjoying the most profound
lent and tranquillity, applied himself to the administration of
avaritious. justice, and made a circuit through his dominions to
clear the roads of robbers, by which they had been
grievously infested since he disbanded his army.
He exerted himself on this occasion with equal vi-
gilance and impartiality, punishing the offenders
without respect of persons, and even sacrificing his
own servants to the good of the public, when they
were convicted of delinquency. This expedition
was necessary to hush the clamours of the people,
who had begun to complain loudly of the ex-
pence to which they were exposed by the last fruit-
less armament : and Edward was so alarmed at their
murmurs, that he would not venture to ask further
supplies from his parliament. He therefore had re-
course to other methods for filling his exhausted ex-
chequer : he engaged in commerce, which he car-
ried on to a great extent, as a private adventurer ;
he sold the profits of vacant prelacies ; exacted fines
for the restitution of temporalities : he searched into
offices of record to find out defective titles to lands,
and compelled the proprietors by irregular prosecu-
tions to pay large sums for their confirmation. He
likewise laid frequent impositions on the clergy,
and became totally infected with the vice of avarice :
though yet still part of his time was expended in
the most effeminate amusements.

A. C. 1478. The administration was wholly engrossed by the
Animosity queen and her relations, who rendered themselves
between the odious to the nation not only by their insatiable
duke of Cla- thirst of power, but also by their insolent demeanour,
rence and the pride they seemed to take in slighting and
the queen's thwarting the schemes of the king's brothers.
kindred. Richard duke of Gloucester, who was naturally
Habington, close,
Biondi,

close, reserved, and considerate, dissembled his resentment in such a manner, as prevented an open rupture between him and the ministry; but George duke of Clarence, a weak prince, of great pride, ambition, and impetuosity, could not suppress his indignation, which broke out with great indecency on all occasions. While Edward lived in celibacy he had flattered himself with the hope of succeeding to the throne of England; and was so extremely mortified at his marriage, that he had never loved his brother heartily since the event: he hated the queen for the same reason, and his rancour extended to her whole family. This animosity was increased by their grasping at all the power of the administration, and interfering with him in the schemes he had formed for his own advantage. By the act of resumption they had deprived him of the honour of Tutbury, and many other lands which he had enjoyed by the king's donation. His dutchess dying, immediately before the death of Charles duke of Burgundy, he solicited the good offices of his sister Margaret, widow of that prince, to effect a match between him and her step-daughter, the princess Mary. This would have been a very advantageous alliance for England; and the dutchess dowager, who loved Clarence above all her brothers, engaged so heartily in his interest, that in all probability the scheme would have succeeded, had it not been industriously obstructed by the intrigues of Edward, who was either jealous of his brother's accession to such power, or influenced by the queen, who wanted to procure this match for her brother Anthony Wideville, earl of Rivers.

Such a disappointment could not fail to inflame the hatred of Clarence, who exclaimed against the king with great virulence; and his discontent was encouraged and fomented by the cunning insinuations of Richard duke of Gloucester. This prince had

The duke
is sent to
the Tower.

A. C. 1478. had already formed a design upon the crown, which could not succeed so long as Clarence stood between him and the succession : he therefore resolved to effect his ruin, as the prelude to that usurpation which he knew the infant children of Edward would not be able to prevent. With this view he artfully exasperated the resentment of Clarence against the king, until he uttered some rash menaces and imprecations ; and these he afterwards repeated with exaggerations to Edward, on pretence of cautioning him against the other's treasonable designs. The queen and her kindred, who hated Clarence, reinforced the suggestions of Richard : so that Edward looked upon his brother George as a traitor, who formed schemes against his life. This suspicion produced a coldness and disgust towards Clarence, who was more and more incensed at the king's neglect and sullen behaviour. He became louder in his complaints ; and the ministry resolved to take the first opportunity to accomplish his destruction. In order to provoke him to some act of indiscretion that would furnish a handle for his ruin, they attacked him in his favourites and confidants, against whom they trumped up ridiculous accusations. John Stacy, a learned clergyman, and noted astronomer, was charged with the exercise of necromancy ; and Thomas Burdet, of Arrow, in Warwickshire, a gentleman of unblemished character, was arrested as his accomplice, as well as on account of his having cursed the king, who had killed a favourite white hind in one of his enclosures. They were tried for these crimes in the King's bench at Westminster ; and, being found guilty, executed at Tyburn ; where both protested their innocence with great spirit and constancy. Clarence, enraged at this sacrifice of his friends, went next day to the council-chamber at Westminster, and produced to the sitting lords the private confession and public declaration

tion of those innocent victims. He could not help A.C. 1473. on this occasion expressing himself in terms of acrimony against the king, to whom they were repeated by some courtier. Edward was so incensed at his presumption, that in the first transport of his passion he repaired from Windsor to Westminster, and summoned Clarence to appear before the council. There he upbraided the duke with his insolence in presuming to arraign the justice of the courts of law; he said his behaviour implied a design to intimidate the judges and juries of the realm, as well as an insult on the royal authority: he repeated all the malicious stories that had been told to his prejudice; reviled him as an ungrateful traitor; and signed a warrant for committing him prisoner to the Tower.

A parliament meeting at Westminster, on the sixteenth day of January, Henry duke of Buckingham was appointed high steward of England, to preside at the trial of Clarence, whose impeachment was digested into eight articles; importing, That by his seditious discourse he had endeavoured to prejudice the king in the minds of his subjects, accusing his majesty of having put Burdet unjustly to death: That he had suborned his domestics and others to spread this false report: That he had accused the king of necromancy, of having destroyed by poison divers innocent persons, whose lives could not be affected by any juridical process: That he had affirmed the king was not the son of his reputed father, but a bastard, begotten by another man, whom the dutchess of York admitted to her embraces: That Clarence from this circumstance arrogating to himself a right to the crown, had demonstrated his design of seizing it, by exacting from several persons an oath to serve him against all mankind, not even excepting his sovereign: That he had accused the king of using witchcraft to deprive him of his life: Convicted, condemned, and privately put to death. and,

A. C. 1478. and, That he had plainly betrayed a design to dethrone the king, in taking an exemplification of the act of parliament passed during the usurpation of Warwick, by which the crown was settled upon Clarence, in default of Henry VI. and the male issue of his body. The duke denied every part of the charge, and offered to prove his innocence in single combat; but Edward himself being his accuser, and declaring himself well satisfied and convinced of the truth of the impeachment, no evidence was examined, and no member presumed to speak in behalf of this unfortunate prince, who was therefore pronounced guilty of the charge, and condemned to die as a traitor. The sentence was not immediately executed; and in all probability his life would have been spared, had not the king's indignation been kept up by the artful intrigues of the queen and Gloucester, and his apprehension aroused by a ridiculous prophecy; implying, that the name of his successor should begin with a G, which was applied to George duke of Clarence. Nevertheless the ministry would not venture to execute the sentence without some further pretext, which, in order to procure, they employed one Roger Twynho, to present a petition to the house of commons against the duke of Clarence, 'for having suborned a jury to give a false verdict against his kinswoman Ankeret, late wife of William Twynho, esquire, whom he charged with having poisoned his dutchess; in consequence of which verdict the said Ankeret had suffered an ignominious death. The parliament having considered the merits of this petition, annulled the process, as having been unjustly carried on by the influence of the duke of Clarence; and petitioned that the sentence against that prince might be executed without further delay. Even then they were afraid to run the risque of popular resentment by a public execution; but he was immediately

mediately dispatched in the Tower, having, according to some historians, been drowned in a butt of malmsey. Such was the end of George duke of Clarence, who left one son called Edward earl of Warwick, and a daughter who was afterwards countess of Salisbury. The duke's death excited such a clamour among the populace, that the court thought proper to conceal the manner of his execution, and gave out that he had died suddenly of grief and vexation : to convince the world that no violence had been used, his body was exposed in St. Paul's church ; but this expedient was so stale, that it served only to confirm the conjectures of the people, who did not scruple to exclaim with great vehemence against the barbarity of the administration.

Stowe.
Monast. Ann.

During these transactions, the truce between Lewis and Maximilian expiring, this last invaded Burgundy, where he made himself master of several places with great facility, on account of the affection of the inhabitants for the house of Burgundy ; and in all probability he would have recovered the whole dutchy, had he been properly supplied by his father. Lewis was not so much afraid of any assistance he might receive from the emperor, as of his engaging in alliance with Edward, which he employed all his arts to prevent. In the month of July he sent a plenipotentiary to London, to prolong the truce for an hundred years after the death of either party ; and to engage for the annual payment of the fifty thousand crowns, while that treaty should remain in force. As the term which had been affixed for adjusting all differences between the two crowns was expired, the ambassador was likewise impowered to prolong it for three years ; and Edward, appointing commissioners to treat with this envoy, the proposals of Lewis were embraced without hesitation, though the treaty was

Lewis XI.
amuses Edward with
treaties of
negotiations.

not

4. C. 1478. not concluded till the month of February in the following year. Edward would have willingly seen the consummation of the marriage-contract between the dauphin and his daughter Elizabeth, before the other transaction should be finished, and sent two ambassadors to France to conclude that affair : but, by this time Lewis had some other match in view for the dauphin, and, as that prince was not yet eight years of age, he found an excuse for delaying the affiancing ceremony. Yet, that Edward might not be chagrined at this procrastination, he payed part of the ransom of Margaret of Anjou, which he had engaged to liquidate at different terms ; and sent the bishop of Elna to London to offer security for the payment of the fifty thousand crowns, for the long term to which the treaty had been lately extended. The security which the prelate offered was the oath of Lewis, together with the bonds of the bank of Medicis, and letters patent confirmed by the estates of France and the papal authority, denouncing excommunication in case of failure. Edward's conduct was now wholly influenced by Lewis, or rather by his own ministers, whom that prince had corrupted. The French king, not contented with having diverted him from assisting the dutchess of Burgundy, proposed that they should share between them the dominions of that princess ; and that Edward should have Flanders and Brabant. The proposal was accepted, on condition, that in exchange for these countries Lewis should cede Boulogne and some other places in Picardy to the king of England. This was an article, however, which the French king would never have performed ; and indeed his design in proposing this partition was to amuse Edward, and engage him in a war with Maximilian, who might otherwise have brought him over to his interest : but the English monarch was grown too indolent to undertake any enterprize that

that required personal activity; and he exerted himself in nothing but in negotiations with foreign princes, whose friendship might secure his tranquillity. A. C. 1473.

The treaty with Denmark having been violated A. C. 1479. in several respects, was now renewed and confirmed; and the two kings agreed that a congress should be held at Hamburgh, to terminate all differences in an amicable manner. Notwithstanding the pacification with France, Edward agreed to a proposal of Maximilian, importing, That his infant son Philip should marry Anne, the third daughter of the king of England; and this convention was ratified by letters patent on both sides, in which the two princes engaged, that for the space of three years they should not, without the consent of each other, bestow their respective children in marriage. At the same time Edward projected another match between his fourth daughter Catherine, and John infant of Castile and Arragon, son of Ferdinand and Isabella; and sent ambassadors to Spain to manage the negotiation, which however, proved ineffectual. Tired at length of the delays which retarded the marriage of his eldest daughter, he appointed lord Howard, and Thomas Langton, treasurer of the church of Exeter, as ambassadors extraordinary to demand of Lewis in a peremptory manner the performance of his promise; and that prince with all his cunning, found it difficult to elude the pressing instances of these envoys. He had already destined the dauphin for the princess Margaret, the new-born daughter of Maximilian; but he did not think proper to avow his design, until he should be in a condition to baffle the resentment of Edward. In A. C. Pub. In the mean time he still practised his dissimulation; and, as the lord Howard was in his interest, found means to evade the purport of the embassy with general promises, and the punctual payment of the annuity.

A. C. 1479. annuity. But, foreseeing that he should not be able to amuse Edward much longer, he resolved to employ his attention in a different manner. By his ambassador in Scotland he persuaded James III. to break the truce with England, and invade the territories of Edward. He found no difficulty in this negotiation, as James was wholly governed by three venal upstarts, whom he had raised from the dust, in contempt of his antient nobility, who were extremely incensed at his conduct. These ministers being bribed with French gold, persuaded their master to enter into the views of Lewis; and he began to make preparations which plainly indicated a design against England.

Treaty between Edward and Maximilian.

A. C. 1480.

Edward perceived his drift, and issued orders for levying an army for the defence of the kingdom; and now for the first time began to open his eyes to the perfidy and dissimulation of Lewis, against whom he vowed vengeance: but in the mean time he determined to combat him with his own weapons of fraud and artifice. He renewed and confirmed the treaty of alliance which had subsisted between him and the late duke of Burgundy; and engaged to furnish Maximilian and Mary with a reinforcement of six thousand men; while the archduke obliged himself to pay fifty thousand crowns yearly to Edward, in case Lewis should withdraw his pension. The marriage-contract between young Philip and the princess Anne of England was concluded, on condition that the nuptials should be solemnized as soon as the parties should be marriageable; and that Edward should bestow one hundred thousand crowns as a dowager upon his daughter. The king likewise promised to mediate a truce between Lewis and Maximilian; to offer his own arbitration for terminating their quarrel; and should that be refused, to declare war against the French monarch. This treaty

A. C. 1480.

treaty being ratified, he sent a new embassy to France, to press the accomplishment of the marriage between the dauphin and his daughter Elizabeth; and Lewis still declining the performance of that contract under various pretences, he ordered a fleet to be equipped, and sent it under the command of John Middleton to the assistance of his new allies. His next care was to secure his frontiers from the irruption of the Scots, and to employ certain emissaries to conclude an alliance in his name with the earl of Ross lord of the Isles, who engaged to make a diversion in his favour, should James attempt to invade England. That prince, though hated by his nobility and people, found means to assemble a body of forces, which entered England and committed some ravages, before Edward's army was levied: but they soon returned without having attempted any thing of consequence.

A. C. 1481.

The king of England was not very eager to march against this enemy, because he maintained a correspondence with the Scottish nobility, and knew that James would soon find it necessary to listen to terms of accommodation. This Edward passionately desired, that he might be more at liberty to prosecute his revenge against Lewis; for which purpose he renewed his alliance with the duke of Brittany, and ratified a contract of marriage between the prince of Wales and Anne eldest daughter of that duke. The treaty imported, that the prince should marry, in case of her death before consummation, her younger sister Isabel, on condition, that of the male children of the marriage, the second should succeed to the duchy of Bretagne; that if a son should be born to the duke in wedlock, he should espouse one of Edward's daughters; that in case of war between the French king and the duke, Edward should assist the latter with three thousand auxiliaries; and that the duke should sup-

Edward engages in an alliance with the duke of Bretagne.

A. C. 1482. ply him with the same number in the like circumstances.
 Rymer.

A private treaty with the duke of Albany, brother of James king of Scotland.

Immediately after this transaction, Alexander duke of Albany, brother of James king of Scotland, escaped from a castle in which he had been imprisoned at the instigation of the ministry; and repairing to London, implored the protection of Edward. His brother John had already fallen a sacrifice to the jealous tyranny of James; and he himself was so provoked by the danger and distresses he had undergone, that he breathed nothing but vengeance against his sovereign. He was cordially received by the king of England, who not only promised to gratify his revenge, but also flattered his ambition by undertaking to raise him to the throne of Scotland. A private treaty was concluded between them; in which Alexander assumed the title of king of Scotland, and promised to do homage to England for his crown. He likewise engaged to break the antient alliance between France and Scotland, and associate with Edward against Lewis; to surrender Berwick to England; to espouse Edward's daughter Cecilia, already affianced to the prince of Scotland, provided he could obtain a divorce from his present wife; but should that be found impracticable, to match his son with some princess of the royal family of England. This treaty being ratified, Edward sent an army against Scotland, under the command of his brother Gloucester, whom the duke of Albany accompanied; and a fleet was ordered to attend his motions, under the conduct of Robert Radcliff.

Rymer.

The Scottish noblemen put to death their king's three favourites.

The Scottish monarch, finding himself unable to resist such an armament, summoned his nobility to attend him with their vassals; and they assembled accordingly at the place of rendezvous, called Lauder, not far from Edinburgh, There finding themselves neglected as usual, and even excluded from

the

the king's presence by his three upstart favourites, who had rendered themselves odious to the whole nation, they were so exasperated, that they held a consultation, to deliberate upon means for removing these evil counsellors; and resolved to sacrifice them to the public good without further delay. This resolution being taken, they seized the three delinquents in the king's chamber, to which they had fled for refuge, and dragging them to the bridge of Lauder, hanged them in sight of the whole army. James, terrified at this execution, promised to reform his conduct; but in a few days retired to the castle of Edinburgh: and the army being left without a chief, the nobles returned to their own habitations.

Mean while the duke of Gloucester, having taken the town of Berwick, and left some troops to besiege the castle, advanced without opposition to the city of Edinburgh, which he entered in triumph, and expressed a desire of having a conference with James; but this prince declining the interview, the duke published a proclamation by sound of trumpet, importing, that if the king of Scotland should not before the month of September fulfil his engagements, he would lay waste the country with fire and sword. These engagements were the observation of the truce, and the restitution of the money which he had received as part of the dower of the princess Cecilia, betrothed to the prince of Scotland; and to these, Gloucester added the re-establishment of the duke of Albany in the possession of his estate and offices. James made no reply to this proclamation; but the nobility, reassembling at Haddington, sent deputies to assure the duke of Gloucester, that they wished for nothing more ardently, than for the accomplishment of the marriage between young James and the princess Cecilia; and that it was not their fault if the

The duke of Gloucester marches to Edinburgh.

A. C. 1482.

Buchanan.
Rymer.

truce was not exactly observed. This message produced a negotiation between Richard and the Scottish nobility, managed by the duke of Albany; and, after some disputes, both sides agreed, that the citizens of Edinburgh should give security for the repayment of the money which James had received, provided the match should miscarry; that the castle of Berwick should be delivered to the English; that the duke of Albany should be appointed regent of Scotland. The archbishop of St. Andrew's, the bishop of Dunkeld, the chancellor, and the earl of Argyle, obliged themselves to procure his pardon; and the duke promised to acknowledge his brother as his sovereign, and take the oath of allegiance to him a-new. This agreement being ratified, the duke of Gloucester marched back to England; and the duke of Albany restored his brother James to the exercise of his royalty, without stipulating any thing but an amnesty in his own favour. That prince, however, could not forgive him for the part he had acted: he resolved to seize the first opportunity of securing his person; and the duke being apprized of his intention, retired to the castle of Dunbar, which he surrendered to the English, after having renewed his former treaty with Edward: but seeing no appearance of being succoured according to his expectation, he repaired to the court of Lewis, where he was accidentally killed by the splinter of a lance in a tournament with the duke of Orleans, who afterwards ascended the throne of France by the name of Lewis XII.

A. C. 1483.

The young
heirefs of
Burgundy is
betrothed to
the dauphin
of France

Now that the war with Scotland was terminated, Edward turned all his attention towards the prosecution of the revenge he had vowed against Lewis; but the conjuncture was not so favourable to his design, as it had been before his rupture with James. Mary dutchefs of Burgundy having died in consequence of a fall from her horse, her husband

Maxi-

Maximilian retained so little credit with the Flemings, that he was obliged to let his children remain in the hands of the inhabitants of Ghent; and Lewis, by his artful insinuations, obtained the consent of that people to the marriage of the dauphin with Margaret daughter of their deceased dutchess, to whom the counties of Artois, Burgundy, Mâconnois, Auxerre, and Charolois, were assigned as a portion. This negotiation was so privately carried on, that Edward had not the least intimation of it, until the young dauphiness, about two years of age, arrived at Paris, where the ceremony of her betrothal was performed with great pomp and magnificence.

Biondi.

The king of England was equally astonished and incensed at this event, which he looked upon as an unpardonable affront offered to his family in the person of his daughter Elizabeth, who had for some time been distinguished by the appellation of the Dauphiness, in which she was now supplanted by an infant. Edward did not consider that Lewis, on this occasion, had done nothing more than retort his own behaviour in the case of the lady Bona. He listened to the suggestions of his resentment only, which, however, he could not obey with any prospect of success; for he was now deprived of the assistance of the Flemings, who favoured Lewis; and the duke of Bretagne was oppressed with melancholly to such a degree, that he could no longer manage his own affairs. In spite of all these disadvantages, the king of England resolved to carry war into the bowels of France: he convoked a general assembly of his nobles, who approved of his resolution; and the whole nation rejoiced as much at the prospect, as if they had already obtained a victory. He forthwith began to levy troops for this expedition; and his people contributed towards the expence with the utmost alacrity: but

Death of
Edward IV.
king of
England.

Argentré.

A.C. 1483. in the midst of his preparations he was seized with a violent fever, produced by some excess, and died a penitent on the ninth day of April, in the forty-second year of his age, and in the twenty-third of his reign *. He was a prince of the most elegant person, and insinuating address; endowed with the utmost fortitude and intrepidity; possessed of uncommon sagacity and penetration: but, like all his ancestors, was brutally cruel and vindictive, perfidious, lewd, perjured, and rapacious; without one liberal thought, without one sentiment of humanity.

* By his wife Elizabeth he had three sons and seven daughters; namely, Edward who succeeded him on the throne; Richard duke of York; George, who died in his infancy; Elizabeth, who in the sequel, married Henry VII. king of England; Mary, betrothed to the king of Denmark, who died before marriage; Cecilia, first married to John viscount Willes, and afterwards to Sir John Kyme; Margaret, who died an infant; Anne, married to Thomas Howard, the third duke of Norfolk, of that name;

Bridget, who took the veil, and died in the nunnery at Dartford; Catherine, married to William Courtenay earl of Devonshire. His natural children were Arthur Plantagenet viscount Lisle, born of Elizabeth Lucy; and Elizabeth Plantagenet, married to Thomas lord Lumley; another Elizabeth by Catherine, daughter of Sir Robert Clavenger; and Isabel Mylbery, married to a brother of the lord Audely.

Rymer, Dugdale, Anstis,

EDWARD





EDWARD V.

E D W A R D V.

IMmediately after the death of the fourth Edward, his son was proclaimed king of England by the name of Edward V. though that young prince, who was but just turned of twelve years of age, never received the crown, or exercised any function of royalty; so that the interval between the death of his father and the usurpation of his uncle, was properly an interregnum, during which the duke of Gloucester took his measures for wresting the crown from his nephew. Young Edward kept his court at Ludlow-Castle in Shropshire, under the direction of his uncle Anthony earl of Rivers, who had been appointed his governor. His uterine brother Sir Richard Gray enjoyed another great office about his person; Sir Thomas Vaughan was his chamberlain; and all the other posts of his household were filled with the queen's creatures. Notwithstanding the ascendancy she had acquired over the late king, she had never been able to prevail upon him to dismiss from his council some old officers and servants, who had adhered to him in all the vicissitudes of his fortune. These were well acquainted with her endeavours; and supposing their safety consisted in their union, formed a party for their mutual defence and support, as well as to oppose the measures of Elizabeth and her family. At the head of this party, were Henry Stafford duke of Buckingham, William lord Hastings, and Thomas lord Stanley. The first was descended from a daughter of Thomas of Wodestoke duke of Gloucester, and son of Edward III. and possessed the office of lord high constable; the lord Hastings was chamberlain, and particularly beloved by Ed-

A. C. 1483.

Edward V.
proclaimed
king.

A.C. 1483.

ward IV. on account of his unshaken attachment and fidelity ; and the lord Stanley was the representative of an antient family, and a nobleman of virtue and courage, devoted to the interest of his master. These three were considered as the chiefs of the antient nobility, in contradistinction to those who had been ennobled by the queen's influence ; and though their credit in the council was not equal to that of the Widevilles and Grays, they distinguished themselves with great spirit in the opposition, and the king had been often obliged to interpose in their disputes. The duke of Gloucester would have been very much perplexed between these two parties, had he not possessed an uncommon fund of sagacity and dissimulation ; for, in order to live upon good terms with the king, he was obliged to cultivate the good graces of his sister-in-law ; and, in behaving respectfully to her, he ran the risque of disobliging the antient nobility, upon whose assistance he in a great measure depended for the accomplishment of his designs : he therefore made his court in public to the queen : but, at the same time, engaged in private connexions with the duke of Buckingham and his party. Edward, on his death-bed, had strongly recommended unanimity and coalition to the two factions : he had even proposed a reconciliation, to which they readily consented ; and the ceremony was performed in his presence. The queen engaged for the earl of Rivers, who was absent, and her eldest son the marquis of Dorset embraced the duke of Buckingham and lord Hastings, with all the exterior marks of cordiality. The duke of Gloucester being then at York on his majesty's affairs, could not obstruct this accommodation, which would have been very prejudicial to his interest, had the parties been sincere in their professions. But, this was not the case.

As

As soon as Edward's eyes were closed, they forgot their mutual protestations; and each faction exerted all its efforts to gain the advantage over the other, in securing the person of the young king, in whose name they might be able to govern the kingdom. The queen, upon the death of her husband, dispatched a messenger to her brother Rivers, with the tidings of that event, and a letter, in which she advised him to raise a body of troops in Wales, and conduct the new king to London, that he might be crowned immediately. On the other hand, the duke of Buckingham, and the lord Hastings made the duke of Gloucester acquainted with his brother's death, and the queen's measures; and as the protectorship of the realm, of right belonged to him during the king's minority, they exhorted him to claim his privilege, offering to provide a body of a thousand men well armed, which should be ready to march at his command. Richard desired they would meet him at Northampton, where they accordingly assembled with a great number of their friends; and there, in a studied harangue, he expatiated on the danger to which they would be exposed, should the queen continue at the head of the administration. He observed, that it was both his right, and his interest, to manage the reins of government during the minority of his nephew; that every body knew the attachment he had constantly preserved for his brother; that his tender affection for Edward's children would not suffer him to abandon them to the discretion of people, whose sole view was to aggrandize themselves at the expence of their sovereign; for which reason, he was resolved to use all his endeavours for the good of the nation, and the advantage of the young king, on whom he would bestow such education as would enable him to follow the steps of his glorious ancestors: but, that as such a project

A. C. 1483.

The duke
of Glou-
cester con-
sults with
his friends
at Nor-
thampton.

A. C. 1483. could not be executed without the assistance of true-hearted Englishmen, he had assembled them to consult about the measures which ought to be taken at the present juncture; and declared that he would be wholly conducted by their advice. Having thus prepared the minds of the audience for the execution of his purpose, they entered into a serious consultation about the means for rendering themselves masters of the king's person; and agreed, to act by stratagem and deceit. They resolved to appear extremely zealous for the interest of their new sovereign, that the queen might have no pretence for assembling or maintaining an army; that the duke of Gloucester should persuade her to dismiss the troops that were already levied; and, should his arguments succeed, endeavour to secure the king's person before his arrival in London. But, should the queen turn a deaf ear to his remonstrances, he determined to amuse her with negotiations, until he should be in a condition to oppose her designs in a more effectual manner.

Writes a letter of condolence to the queen.

This plan being projected, Hastings returned to London, where he had acquired great popularity; and the duke of Gloucester wrote a letter of condolence to the queen, in which, after the warmest professions of friendship, regard, and loyalty to her and his young sovereign, he exhorted her to use her best endeavours to banish all jealous animosity that might still subsist among the nobles; and to confirm the reconciliation which had been so lately, and so happily effected. He observed, that her levying troops for the defence of the king, at a time when the whole nation seemed to breathe one spirit of loyalty and affection, might wake the jealousy and suspicion of those noblemen who had been reconciled to her family: that their suspicion would naturally prompt them to take measures for their own preservation: and that one misunderstanding

ing might produce another, until the whole kingdom should be involved in civil war and confusion. In order to prevent these calamities, he earnestly intreated her to disband her troops, that all the nobles of the kingdom might, without fear or suspicion, pay their respects to their young sovereign, and contribute with all their power towards the maintenance of public tranquillity. The queen had no reason to doubt the sincerity of Gloucester, who had always treated her with the utmost deference, and manifested uncommon zeal for the interest of her children: she believed his letter was the effect of loyalty and good sense. As he had not yet dropped the least hint of his intention to claim the administration, she followed his advice as the wholesome counsel of a friend; and, sent an order to Rivers to disband his forces, that they might not give umbrage to the nation.

The earl obeyed this order without hesitation, and set out with the king for London, without any other attendants than the ordinary domestics. Young Edward was met by the dukes of Gloucester and Buckingham, in the neighbourhood of Northampton, which they had already secured with nine hundred men; and they approached him with marks of the most profound regard and submission. Gloucester told him, that as the town of Northampton was crowded with strangers, his majesty would be more at his ease in Stony-Stratford, about twelve miles farther on the London road, where they would join him in the morning, and in the mean time pass the night at Northampton. His proposal being approved, they invited the earl of Rivers to make merry with them at their lodgings; and he accompanied them to Northampton, glad of this opportunity to cement the late reconciliation by his unreserved compliance. They spent good part of the night in seeming harmony, and mutual professions

Arrests the earl of Rivers, Sir Richard Gray, and Sir Thomas Vaughan.

A. C. 1483. sessions of friendship ; but, next morning they ordered him to be put in arrest, and set out for Stony-Stratford, where they found the king ready to proceed on his journey. Before they quitted that place, they took occasion to quarrel with his uterine brother Sir Richaad Gray, whom they accused of having, in conjunction with the marquis of Dorset, and the earl of Rivers, formed a design to make themselves masters of the king's person : they likewise affirmed, that the marquis had seized the treasure of the late king, with which he was intrusted. Edward himself interposing on this occasion, said he would not pretend to justify the conduct of Dorset, with which he was unacquainted ; but, that he would answer for his uncle Rivers, and his brother Richard, who had been always with him since his father's decease. The duke of Buckingham told his majesty, they were too cunning to make him acquainted with their schemes ; and immediately ordered his followers to take Sir Richard Gray, and Sir Thomas Vaughan, into custody. The king was conveyed back to Northampton ; and the next day, the prisoners were sent to the castle of Pontefract, notwithstanding the intreaties and tears of Edward, which flowed in great abundance ; though they still treated him with all the exterior marks of the most respectful submission.

The queen takes sanctuary in Westminster.

The queen was no sooner informed of these proceedings, than she comprehended the whole scheme of the duke of Gloucester, and looking upon her brother and two sons as lost, fled for refuge to the sanctuary in Westminster, with the duke of York, who was about nine years of age, the marquis of Dorset, and the rest of her children. The lord Hastings having received an account of the transaction at Northampton, repaired immediately to the house of the archbishop of York, to whom he communicated these tidings ; assuring him at the same time,

time, that no harm was intended to the king, to whom indeed, he was sincerely attached, without knowing the designs of Gloucester. The archbishop arose immediately from his bed ; and, tho' it was midnight, went to visit the queen, whom he found sitting on the floor in the utmost agony of distress, deploring the fate of her children. The prelate endeavoured to console her with the assurance of Hastings ; but, she could derive no comfort from any thing which came from that quarter. Then he protested, that if her enemies should be wicked enough to take away the life of the king, he would forthwith crown the duke of York ; and as a pledge of his sincerity, he left the great seal in her hands : but afterwards reflecting, that he ought not to have parted with that mark of the late king's confidence, he desired it might be sent back ; and she complied with his request. Mean while, the news of the affair at Northampton filled the whole city of London with tumult and consternation ; and a great number of the citizens took to their arms, without knowing what would be the consequence of Gloucester's conduct. But, their fears were appeased by the lord Hastings, who assured them, that the king was in no danger ; and that Rivers and Gray had been apprehended for a conspiracy against the lives of the dukes of Gloucester and Buckingham ; but that they would be fairly tried by the laws of their country.

Stowe.

In a few days after this disturbance, the king was brought to London, which he entered amidst the acclamations of the people, accompanied by the duke of Gloucester, who rode behind him bareheaded, and a great number of noblemen, who seemed zealously attached to his majesty's person. He was conducted to the bishop's palace, as a place of safety, under the protection of the citizens ; and this mark of confidence, together with the respect which

Richard
duke of
Gloucester
declared pro-
tector of the
king and
kingdom.

A. C. 1483. which was paid to the person of the king, intirely dissipated those suspicions which the affair of Northampton had produced. Immediately after the rejoicings which were made on the king's arrival, the duke of Gloucester convoked a great council of the nobility, to regulate the administration; and these being chiefly composed of his own friends, or such as hated the queen's family, he was declared protector of the king and kingdom; though the council on this occasion usurped a prerogative which resided in the parliament alone. As soon as Richard found himself vested with this high office, he deprived the archbishop of York of the great seal, which he gave to the bishop of Lincoln; and filled with his own creatures all those places which had been occupied by the queen's adherents. Then he proposed in council, that a deputation should be sent to desire the queen would allow the duke of York to attend his brother, and be present at his coronation. He observed, that Elizabeth's retreat into the sanctuary implied a distrust, which might kindle jealousies, and revive factions, to the manifest prejudice of the nation: that the circumstance of York's remaining in the asylum, while his brother received the crown, would disgrace the government in the eyes of foreign potentates: and that, in all probability, the queen's design was to escape from the sanctuary, and raise a flame in the kingdom, on pretence of defending her second son from violence. It was therefore, his opinion, that the archbishop of Canterbury should endeavour to persuade the queen to part with the duke of York; and that, should she refuse to comply in this particular with the desire of the council, the duke of York should be taken from her by force. The archbishop undertook to persuade her to compliance; but vehemently opposed the proposal for violating the sanctuary, which had been so long kept sacred.

The

The duke of Buckingham inveighed against the abuse of sanctuaries, and seconded the opinion of the protector, which was espoused by all the rest of the council, the ecclesiastics excepted.

A. C. 1483.

Fabian.

The cardinal archbishop being sent as deputy from the council to the queen, employed all his eloquence in vain, to persuade her that she ought to part with the duke of York; and finding her inflexible, plainly told her, that a resolution was taken to withdraw him by force from the sanctuary. The hapless mother, terrified at this declaration, imparted to the cardinal her suspicions of Gloucester, whom she taxed with a design upon the crown, which he could not accomplish without having both her sons in his power. The archbishop, who never dreamed of Richard's ambition, took umbrage at the queen's insinuations; and told her with great warmth, that her suspicions were injurious to the character of a prince who had nothing more at heart than the interest of his sovereign, as well as the honour of the nobility and prelates in council, who could not be so wicked as to concur in any such treasonable design. He said that, without their concurrence, the protector would find such a scheme impracticable; though he was fully persuaded in his own mind, that no thought of that nature ever entered the breast of the duke of Gloucester. The good cardinal was really convinced of the protector's integrity; therefore his discourse was the more emphatic, and had the greater effect upon Elizabeth, who began to abate in her apprehension, though not so much, but that in parting with her son, she shed a torrent of tears, and underwent the most violent agitation of sorrow. At length, after having embraced him with all the eagerness of maternal affection, heightened by the fear of losing the beloved object for ever, she delivered him into the hands of the archbishop, by whom he was conducted to the protector; and

Young Edward and his brother the duke of York are lodged in the Tower of London.

Richard

A. C. 1483. Richard received him with all the marks of paternal tenderness, desiring he would look upon him as his guardian and father. The two young princes seemed extremely happy at meeting, and began to think their uncle Richard sincere in his professions of duty and friendship : but, this happiness was not of long duration ; for, in a few days, they were conveyed from the bishop's palace to the Tower, from whence the kings of England used to ride in procession thro' the streets of London to their coronation at Westminster; a custom which now furnished Gloucester with a pretext for securing his nephews in close custody.

Rivers,
Gray, and
Vaughan,
are beheaded
at Pontefract.

It was at this juncture that Richard is said to have communicated his scheme to the duke of Buckingham, who was a nobleman without principle ; and therefore easily engaged in the project of Gloucester, who promised to recompence his services with a grant of certain lands in Herefordshire, the late king's wardrobe, and a patent for rendering the office of constable hereditary in his family. The protector having secured Buckingham in his interest, resolved to rid his hands of the prisoners at Pontefract, whose death would deprive the royal family of their chief support. For this purpose he held consultations with his friends, and found Hastings particularly pleased with the design of dispatching Rivers and Gray, who had done him many ill offices in the late reign. The lord Howard likewise assented to the scheme for the same reason ; and Sir Thomas Radcliff governor of Pontefract, received instructions to put it in execution. He had already assembled five thousand men for the service of Richard ; so that having nothing to fear from the resentment of the people in the neighbourhood, he caused the earl of Rivers, Sir Richard Gray, and Sir Thomas Vaughan, to be beheaded, without any form of trial.

In

In the mean time the duke of Gloucester endeavoured to engage in his service a great number of profligate persons of desperate fortunes, without fear, conscience, or any other principle of action than self-interest; who would execute his commands and directions, how wicked and cruel soever they might be, without remorse or hesitation. While he privately enlisted this band of desperadoes, he still maintained his dissimulation in the eyes of the world, affecting to prepare for the coronation of his nephew, at which he summoned all gentlemen possessing forty pounds a year, to attend and receive the honour of knighthood. His next scheme was to find out a pretence for excluding the children of Edward from the throne, as well as those of Clarence, who stood between him and his hopes. When the resolution is once taken, pretences are easily invented to give it countenance. His emissaries began to prepare the public for his usurpation, by spreading reports to the prejudice of his mother's reputation. They whispered about, that the old dutchess of York had been false to her husband's bed; and that neither Edward nor Clarence were begotten by their reputed father; whereas Richard wore his express image, both in the features of his countenance, and lineaments of his mind and disposition. Not contented with aspersing the character of a lady, which had hitherto been unblemished, they fixed the imputation of bastardy upon Edward's children, in consequence of the pretended marriage, by which they said he was previously contracted to Elizabeth Lucy. They insinuated, that the children of Clarence were rendered incapable of succeeding to the throne, by the attainder of their father; and mentioned Richard, not only as the true heir of blood, but also, as a prince possessed of every quality that could adorn a crown.

A. C. 1483.
Reports
spread by
the emissaries
of
Richard.

A. C. 1483.

He divides
his council.H. St. Croy-
land.

These reports were disseminated in such an artful manner, that they gained credit among the lower class of people, while they gave umbrage to those noblemen who were attached to the family of the late king, and in particular to lord Hastings, who was still intirely ignorant of Richard's real design. The protector was well acquainted with his sentiments; but had hitherto lived upon terms of friendship with him, on account of his great interest in the city of London; nor was he altogether without hope of bringing him intirely over to his interest. He likewise cultivated a seeming friendship with the two archbishops, the bishop of Ely, and the lord Stanley, who were well-wishers to the two young princes; because he found his account in their countenance; and resolved to wear the masque until he should have no further occasion for their assistance. In order to amuse them in the mean time, he fixed a day for the coronation of Edward, and divided his council, on pretence of making more expedition in preparing for that solemnity. His own creatures sat at Westminster, attended by Edmund Shaw the mayor of London, who was devoted to the protector's interest, while the noblemen that favoured the cause of Edward, were detached in a separate committee to the Tower, where they met every day to superintend the preparations. They soon perceived that obstacles were industriously raised to prevent the execution of their orders: that very few persons were admitted to the king, who was attended by a small number of domestics, while his uncle was continually surrounded by swarms of courtiers, whom he caressed with such affability as seemed contrary to his natural disposition. These circumstances, added to the delay of the coronation, alarmed the lord Stanley, who now began to suspect the duke of Gloucester of sinister designs. He freely com-

municated

municated his suspicions to his colleagues; and, as the resolutions of the other council were mysteriously concealed from their knowledge, proposed, that they should, without loss of time, concert proper measures for the safety of their sovereign. The lord Hastings, who firmly believed that the protector had no other design but that of destroying the queen's faction, dispelled these just suspicions, by assuring them there was nothing to be feared from the other council; and offered to pawn his head, that if they should take any step to the prejudice of the king and the realm, he should be informed of it by one of the members who was intirely devoted to his interest. This was his friend and confident Catesby; but he little dreamed that this man betrayed him, and that such was the price by which he purchased the confidence of the protector. The lord Stanley and his colleagues allowed themselves to be convinced by the assurances of Hastings, whose intelligence they preferred to their own observations; and thus neglected the opportunity which never recurred.

Mean while, Richard thought it was now high time, either to make a convert of Hastings to his views, or to destroy him at once: for this purpose he employed Catesby to sound that nobleman, touching his opinion of the protector's right, which happened at that time to be the common subject of conversation. Hastings not only refuted all the suggestions concerning the bastardy of Edward and his children; but assured Catesby, that he would with all his interest, and even his heart's blood, support the young princes against all their enemies. This declaration was immediately reported to the protector, who being extremely desirous of engaging Hastings in his design, directed Catesby to try him once more, and even hint the project which was formed for the exclusion of his nephews. Ca-

Orders Hastings to be arrested and beheaded without form of trial.

A. C. 1483. tesby, in this second conversation, found him more than ever determined to oppose any enterprize that should be formed against his master's children; and Richard, for that very reason, devoted him to immediate death. He repaired in the morning to the council in the Tower, where he behaved with remarkable affability to the members; and after some stay withdrew, desiring them to continue their deliberations, and give the last orders touching the ceremony of the coronation, which had been too long delayed. In about an hour after his departure, he returned with a frowning aspect, biting his lips, and exhibiting all the marks of internal agitation. After some pause, "My lords, " (said he) what punishment do those deserve who " have conspired against my life?" The whole council was confounded at this question; and the lord Hastings replied, in the name of the rest, that whoever was guilty of such a crime ought to be punished as a traitor. "It is no other (cried " Richard) than that forcerefs my sister-in-law, " with her accomplices." Before his hearers had time to recollect themselves from the fear and astonishment which this prelude produced, he bared his left arm, which was withered, and presenting it to the council, "Behold, (said he) what that force- " refs, and the wretched Shore have done by the " power of their incantations! they have reduced " this arm to the condition in which you now see " it; and the rest of my body would have shared " the same fate, if, by the singular protection of " heaven, their infamous practices had not been " discovered." These words redoubled their amazement and terror, as they well knew his arm had been always in that shrivelled condition; and as they were fully persuaded, that if the queen had formed any such design, she would never have communicated it to Jane Shore, who had been the concubine

cubine of her husband, and now lived on the same footing with the lord Hastings, who was the queen's professed enemy. This nobleman could not help expressing his doubts about the truth of the information, by saying, if they were guilty, they deserved to be punished. "How! (cried the protector with great emotion) dost thou answer me with an If, as if I had forged the accusation? I tell thee they have plotted against my life, and thou thyself art one of their accomplices." So saying, he struck the table twice, and immediately the hall was filled with armed men: then, turning to Hastings, he said, "I arrest thee for the crime of treason." "Who, me, my lord!" replied that unfortunate nobleman. "Yes, thee, thou traitor," exclaimed the protector, and ordered him to be seized by the soldiers. This arrest occasioned a tumult in the apartment, during which one of the soldiers attempted to cleave the head of lord Stanley with a battle-ax, on pretence of keeping the peace, but he missed his aim; and Stanley, by creeping under the table, saved his life at the expence of a dangerous wound. Nevertheless, he was arrested, together with the archbishop of York, and the bishop of Ely: but, as for Hastings, Richard was so bent upon his destruction, that he swore he would not dine, until his head should be severed from his shoulders; so that he had just time to confess himself to the first priest that could be found, and then was beheaded on a log of timber.

Richard, knowing how much Hastings was beloved by the citizens of London, thought it necessary to use some pretext for this precipitate execution, and sent a message to the mayor and aldermen, desiring to see them immediately. In the mean time he and Buckingham cased themselves up in rusty armour; and when the magistracy of London repaired to the Tower, in obedience to

Jane Shore
does public
penance.

A.C. 1483 his message, he told them that the lord Hastings, and some others had conspired against his life. He said he had not been informed of their design till ten in the morning, when the proofs appeared so plain, that the king and council thought it absolutely necessary to execute Hastings without delay, as they understood a great number of people were ready to rise in his favour; that, in such a pressing emergency, he was fain to put on the first armour he could find, for the security of his person; and that he had sent for them to be witnesses of the truth, that they might inform the people, and prevent or appease the tumults which ill designing persons might raise in the city. The mayor and aldermen saw through the pretext; they durst not, however, signify their real sentiments, but promised to obey his orders, and withdrew. Immediately after this conference, a proclamation was published in the king's name, declaring, that, as the lord Hastings had entered into a conspiracy to seize his majesty's person, and slay the protector and the duke of Buckingham, that he might govern the realm according to his own pleasure, the king, for the prevention of this wicked design, had, by the advice of his council, punished him without delay: that no person was ever more deserving of the death of a traitor than Hastings, who had advised the late king to take so many fatal steps contrary to the liberty and privileges of the people: that he had been the conductor and companion of Edward's debauchery: and that he had spent the last night with Jane Shore, the accomplice of all his crimes; and of that in particular for which he suffered. This proclamation contained many other aspersions calculated to diminish the affection which the people had always expressed for lord Hastings, and anticipate their compassion; but it did not produce the desired effect. Jane Shore

Shore being apprehended and brought before the council, the duke of Gloucester accused her of having practised witchcraft, and entered into the conspiracy of Hastings against his life. But she made her innocence appear so plain, that they could not, with any shadow of justice, condemn her upon this accusation: then she was prosecuted for the irregularities of her life, which she could not deny; and being delivered to the ecclesiastical jurisdiction, was condemned to do public penance in St. Paul's church, and to walk in procession before the cross, barefoot, half naked, and a burning taper in her hand.

Those executions at London and Pontefract, without form and process, together with the imprisonment of the archbishop of York, the bishop of Ely, and the lord Stanley, left the people no reason to doubt but that the protector had a design upon the crown; and the whole kingdom was filled with consternation. This was a juncture at which he resolved to manifest his intention; but, as he desired to have the approbation of the Londoners, he consulted with his confident the duke of Buckingham, about means for procuring this advantage. They resolved to redouble their industry in persuading the people that the children of Edward were bastards, on the supposition that those whom their emissaries could not convince, would be deterred from attempting to undeceive their neighbours. Doctor Ralf Shaw, the mayor's brother, preached a sermon at St. Paul's cross, in which he not only enlarged upon Edward's previous marriage with Elizabeth Lucy, which rendered his other children illegitimate, but also expatiated upon the bastardy of Edward himself and his brother Clarence, who he affirmed were begotten by persons whom the dutchess of York admitted to her bed in the absence of her husband: then he

Dr. Shaw's
sermon in
praise of
Richard.

A. C. 1483. made a transition to the duke of Gloucester, whom he represented as the true son of York, whom he perfectly resembled in his features as well as in his virtues, and poured forth an extravagant panegyric on this prince, during which he intended to have presented himself to the people, in hope that, moved by the eloquence of the preacher, they would have saluted him as king. The duke, however, did not arrive until the doctor had exhausted his encomium, and began to discuss another subject. Nevertheless, seeing the protector approach, he repeated his praise with the most fulsome exaggeration, while Richard walked through the crowd to his place. But, instead of hearing the acclamation of "Long live king Richard!" he saw the audience hang their heads in profound silence, detesting the venality of the preacher, who forfeited all his popularity by this shameful prostitution of his talent, and concealed himself in retirement, where he soon died of sorrow and remorse.

The duke of Buckingham harangues the Londoners at Guildhall.

Shaw's sermon having been so unfavourably received, the duke of Buckingham, who was famed for his elocution, undertook to harangue the people on the Tuesday following at Guildhall; there the aldermen and common council being assembled by the lord mayor, the duke resumed the topics which doctor Shaw had handled so unsuccessfully. He told them, the lords in council and commons of the kingdom, had declared that no bastard should sit upon the throne of England, and insisted upon the crown's being adjudged to the duke of Gloucester, the only son of the late duke of York: he said there was reason to fear that magnanimous prince would reject the offer; but he hoped that if all the people, especially the citizens of London, would unite in their solicitations, Richard might be persuaded to bear the weighty burthen of government, which was too heavy for

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an infant's shoulders. He therefore desired, in his own name, and that of the council, they would declare their opinion; and here he paused, in expectation of hearing them exclaim "King Richard!" "King Richard!" But, to his great surprize, an universal silence prevailed. He repeated his harangue with some variation; and still they continued mute and melancholy. He then expressed his displeasure to the mayor, who told him, that the people were not used to be harangued by any person but the recorder, who was the city orator. This officer being ordered to speak, on the same subject, recapitulated all that the duke had said; and concluded with desiring they would answer positively, whether or not they would have the duke of Gloucester for their king. A confused murmur ran through the multitude; and some of the duke's domestics, having insinuated themselves among the croud, cried, "Long live king Richard!" A few burghers, who had been previously corrupted, joined in this acclamation; and the apprentices and populace who stood at the gate threw up their caps in honour of the duke of Gloucester. Buckingham, commanding silence, told them, he was rejoiced to find his proposal met with such universal approbation; and desired they would meet him next day at the same time and place, that they might go together and present an humble supplication to his highness, beseeching him to mount the throne, and govern the people as his own subjects.

Rot. Parl.

The citizens were dismissed for that day. On the morrow, the duke of Buckingham, with the mayor, aldermen, and a multitude of the protector's adherents, repaired to Barnard's Castle, where he resided, in order to present an address, in the name of the three estates, declaring the bastardy of Edward's children; and intreating him to assume the crown, which was his true inheritance. Richard pretended

Richard accepts the crown.

A. C. 1483. pretended to be terrified at such a concourse of people, as if he had thought they came with some sinister design upon his person; and when at length Buckingham prevailed upon him to give them audience, he came forth with all the marks of terror and distrust. He affected great surprize at their proposal, which he declined, observing that he loved his brother's children above all the crowns in the world: though he considered their address as a proof of their affection, which he should never forget. He exhorted them to live quietly under the sovereign to whom they owed their obedience; and he promised for himself that he would, to the best of his power, advise his nephew to govern in such a manner as to render his people flourishing and happy. The duke of Buckingham, appearing very much dissatisfied with this answer, declared, that the people were unanimously resolved that none of Edward's children should sit upon the throne; and that, if he would not receive the crown, they should be obliged to offer it to some other person. This declaration softened the protector into compliance. He told them, that since they were determined to reject the children of Edward, he was contented to accept the crown, which was undoubtedly his lawful inheritance, though he received it with more pleasure, as the free gift of a free people. This condescension in Richard was applauded with loud acclamations. Next day he repaired to Westminster-Hall, where, placing himself in the royal seat, he made a speech to the audience, and gave the judges a strict charge for the due administration of justice.

RICHARD



Dixon sculp.

RICHARD III.

R I C H A R D III.

Surnamed CROOK-BACK.

THIS farce being acted with all imaginable success, the duke of Gloucester was proclaimed king of England and France, by the name of Richard III. on the twenty second day of June, and the sixth day of July fixed for the ceremony of his coronation, which he deferred till that time, in expectation of being reinforced by five thousand men from the North, as he did not much confide in the attachment of the Londoners. During this interval, he conferred the office of chancellor upon the bishop of Lincoln, who was one of his favourites. He bestowed the office of marshal on lord John Howard, together with the title of duke of Norfolk; and the next day appointed him high-constable for the coronation. His son Thomas Howard was created earl of Surrey; William Berkeley was promoted to the title of earl of Nottingham; and lord Lovel, one of Richard's chief confidants, was raised to the title of viscount. Thomas Rotherham archbishop of York was discharged from confinement; and the lord Stanley was not only released, but even appointed steward of the household: not that Richard had any real regard for this nobleman, but this indulgence was the effect of his apprehension; for Stanley's son the lord Strange had begun to levy troops in Lincolnshire, and Richard thought this was the most likely expedient for preventing the consequences of a rebellion. The university of Oxford presented a petition in favour of Morton bishop of Ely; and though the new king mortally hated that prelate, he would not, in the beginning of his reign, disoblige such a venerable

A. C. 1483.

Richard III.
proclaimed.

A. C. 1483. nerable body by a flat refusal : nor would he set the bishop altogether at liberty ; but he chose a medium, and committed him to the care of the duke of Buckingham, who sent him to his castle of Brecknock in Wales. On the sixth day of July, he and Anne his queen, daughter of Richard earl of Warwick, were crowned with great pomp at Westminster. All the noblemen in the kingdom assisted at this ceremony, that they might not, by their absence, incur the suspicion of the new king, whose character was so formidable ; and the queen's train was borne up by Margaret countess of Richmond, wife of lord Stanley, and mother to the earl of Richmond then an exile in Brittany.

Sir T. More.
and crowned
at Westmin-
ster,

Sends am-
bassadors to
different
parts of the
continent,

Richard now seemed secure from all opposition. There was not a nobleman in the kingdom who had interest enough to raise the least disturbance, except those who were intirely devoted to his interest. The queen dowager, with her five daughters, and her brother the marquis of Dorset, still remained in the sanctuary. Sir Richard Wideville lived in concealment ; while Edward V. and his brother the duke of York continued close prisoners in the Tower, the government of which was conferred on Sir Richard Brackenbury, on whose fidelity Richard placed the greatest dependence. Nevertheless, that he might strengthen his power with foreign alliances, and prevent his enemies from receiving any assistance abroad, he sent Bernard de la Force as his ambassador into Castile, to renew the antient alliance with Ferdinand and Isabella. He appointed commissioners to treat with France about certain infractions of the truce, that it might be renewed and confirmed ; he vested Thomas Hutton with full power to prolong the truce with Francis II. duke of Brittany ; and this ambassador received instructions about a new treaty with that prince,

prince, touching his delivering up the earl of Richmond. A. C. 1483.
Rymer.

Those measures being taken, Richard is said to have compassed the death of his two nephews in the Tower: and, in order to avoid the suspicion of being concerned in this tragedy, to have made a progress through several counties, on pretence of reforming the abuses which had crept into the administration of justice. In the course of this circuit he resided some time at Gloucester, which he affected to favour as the place from which he derived his title. He was accompanied by the duke of Buckingham, who now seemed to think his services could never be sufficiently recompenced, and was become so arrogant, that the king found it necessary to humble his pride. The first opportunity that offered, Richard treated him superciliously, and even refused him some little favours he had occasion to ask; for, with regard to the estate of Hereford, which some historians have made the cause of this difference, it appears, by a grant of Richard, mentioned by Dugdale, that the duke had actually received all the lands he could have reasonably claimed as belonging to that family from which he was descended. In all probability therefore, he took umbrage at some other repulse or mortifying slight; and having obtained permission to go and regulate his domestic affairs, retired in disgust to his castle of Brecknock. After his departure, the king proceeded to the execution of the scheme he had projected for making away with his nephews in the Tower. He had founded Brakenbury the governor upon this subject; and finding him too conscientious to be concerned in the perpetration of such a cruel murder, he employed Sir James Tyrrel, who had acted as assassin-general during the reign of Edward IV. under the title of vice-constable, by
virtue

Death of
the young
princes in
the Tower.

A.C. 1483. virtue of a commission, empowering him to take cognizance of all cases of treason; and, upon a bare inspection of the fact, see justice immediately executed upon the criminal, without noise, form of trial, or appeal. This murdering commission was renewed by Richard; and Tyrrel having received his instructions, found access to the Tower, where he is said to have taken away the lives of the innocent princes, by the hands of two ruffians, who smothered them in their beds, and buried their bodies under a staircase. This is the account given by Sir Thomas More, which ought to be read with caution, because written in the subsequent reign, when every historian and writer endeavoured to insinuate himself into the favour of Henry, by blackening the character of his predecessor. True it is Tyrrel is said to have confessed the fact, when he was arrested for treason against Henry; but very little dependence ought to be placed on extorted confessions. At this period, the two young princes certainly disappeared: and in the reign of Charles II. the workmen employed in repairing that part of the Tower, found the bones of a small human skeleton, which were interred in Westminster-Abbey, as the remains of those two unhappy princes. If they were put to death at this juncture, Richard must have acted from mere wantonness of barbarity; for his throne seemed to be strongly established, the whole kingdom was quiet, all the partisans of Edward's children were crushed and ruined, and the children themselves declared illegitimate. Perhaps young Edward, who was of a weakly constitution, died of grief and terror, with which he certainly was overwhelmed from the moment of his deposition; and his brother the duke of York was conveyed beyond sea, where he lived some time in obscurity, and afterwards appeared as a pretender to the English crown. Even this conjecture is attended
with

with material objections. Had Edward died of a natural death, Richard would have found his account in publishing his fate to the world, and honouring the body with a magnificent funeral. If the duke of York had escaped into Flanders, his aunt the dutchess of Burgundy would naturally have owned him as such from the beginning, that there might be no doubt of his birth and quality in the sequel, when an opportunity should offer to assert his pretensions. After all, when we consider the sanguinary disposition of Richard, and the mysterious disappearance of the two princes, we cannot pretend to acquit him of the imputation which hath been fixed upon his memory; notwithstanding all the pains which have been taken to gild over his character, by Buck, who was, in all respects a most despicable historian, and seems to have commenced the panegyrist of Richard, because one of his ancestors was engaged in the service of that inhuman tyrant. We are told by Sir Thomas More, that although Richard expressed great joy when Tyrrel gave him to understand his order was executed on the two princes, he was afterwards haunted by the furies of remorse; that he often started from his sleep in the utmost trepidation; that he frequently rolled his eyes, bit his lip, and fumbled with his dagger, exhibiting in his countenance and demeanour all the marks of terror and distrust.

It must be owned however that the king, in his progress, administered justice with great impartiality; and, by an unwearied attention to the interest of his subjects, seemed bent upon making an atonement for the blood through which he had waded to the throne. From Gloucester he repaired to York, where he had the satisfaction of receiving Geoffrey de Sasiola, ambassador from Spain, whom Ferdinand and Isabella had sent on purpose to renew the antient alliance between Castile and England.

He

Richard's
son is crea-
ted prince of
Wales.

A. C. 1483. He was so well pleased to find himself acknowledged by that princess, who was descended from the house of Lancaster, that he knighted and caressed the ambassador: he wrote very affectionate and respectful letters to their catholic majesties, and even to their ministers. While Richard resided at York he was a second time crowned in the cathedral of that city; and his son, a boy ten years of age, was created prince of Wales with the usual solemnities. Here too he received the tidings of the death of Lewis XI. king of France, who was succeeded by his only son Charles VIII. a minor, under the guardianship of his sister Anne, wife of Peter de Bourbon, lord of Beaujeu: but the duke of Orleans, as first prince of the blood, disputed the regency with her; and this contest produced such troubles in the French court as hindered the renewal or confirmation of the truce with England, which Richard eagerly solicited.

The duke of Buckingham, and Morton bishop of Ely, contrive a scheme in favour of the earl of Richmond.

While the king enjoyed these events at York, the duke of Buckingham brewed a storm against him, big with danger and expectation. That nobleman, who was naturally loud, imperious, and indiscreet, had not spent many days at Brecknock, when his discontent and hatred towards Richard were perceived by his prisoner, Moreton bishop of Ely, a prelate of singular penetration and address. He had formerly been a zealous partisan of the house of Lancaster, but yielded to the torrent at the accession of Edward, who found him useful in his affairs, and appointed him a member of his council. He still retained the warmest inclinations for the Lancastrian interest; and perceiving the resentment of Buckingham, insinuated himself into his confidence, by reviling Richard, whom he detested as a tyrant and a ruffian, who, not contented with having shed the best blood of the nobility, and usurped the crown, had now completed his inhumanity

manity with the murder of the two innocent princes. Buckingham, in the transports of his passion, denounced vengeance against this monster of barbarity and ingratitude; and Morton is said to have advised him to claim the crown in his own right, as descended from Anne, daughter of Thomas de Wodestoke, earl of Gloucester, and third son of the third Edward; but the duke, foreseeing that in such a case the friends of Henry earl of Richmond would join the house of York against him, declined following the bishop's advice, and declared in favour of that nobleman, who was the true heir of the house of Lancaster. He proposed that Henry should espouse Elizabeth, eldest daughter of Edward IV. and by this alliance reunite the two houses in his favour. The bishop relished the expedient, as a scheme conformable to justice, that in all probability would effectually extinguish the embers of those civil wars by which the kingdom had been so long harrassed and depopulated. Henry earl of Richmond was the son of a Welshman, as we have already observed; but his mother Margaret was daughter of John de Beaufort, duke of Somerset, and grandson of John of Ghent, duke of Lancaster. Margaret's father, dying without male issue, his younger brother Edmund succeeded to his title; but he and all his posterity being destroyed in the civil war, Margaret and her son were the only surviving branches of that family, and consequently the heirs of the house of Lancaster. Nevertheless, their title was liable to one great objection: They were descended from Catherine Swinford, who had been concubine to John of Ghent; and although her children were declared legitimate by act of parliament, and capable of inheriting titles and estates, they were not allowed to assume the name of Plantagenet; nor did the act of their legitimation extend to their being rendered capable of succeeding

A. C. 1483. to the throne: even supposing their right had extended so far, they could hardly have pretended to come in competition with the descendants of the duke of Lancaster by his lawful marriage; who amounted to ten or twelve different princes and princesses in Spain, Portugal, and Germany. These, however, seemed to be excluded from the crown, in the opinion of the English; and Richmond's right was tacitly acknowledged by the repeated efforts which Edward IV. and Richard made to secure his person. Had not the interest of this nobleman been very great, and his title espoused by all the friends of the house of Lancaster, a man of Buckingham's ambition would in all probability have set up for himself. At present he seems to have been actuated intirely by a spirit of revenge against Richard, though he coloured it with a more plausible pretext; for we can hardly believe that a person of his character would engage in such a dangerous scheme, on a more laudable principle.

The queen
dowager ap-
proves the
scheme.

Be that as it will, he and the bishop, after divers consultations, concluded that the whole hope of success in this enterprize depended upon the marriage between Henry and Elizabeth; and that they ought to secure this alliance, as a necessary preliminary to all their other measures. For this purpose they resolved to communicate their scheme to the old counsellors of Richmond, that she might make her son acquainted with the design, and endeavour to obtain the consent of the queen dowager. The bishop, being intimately acquainted with Reginald Bray, one of the domestics belonging to the counsellors, sent for him to Brecknock, where he was entrusted with the secret, and undertook to engage his mistress in the design. This man was no sooner returned to the counsellors with his embassy, than the bishop desired the duke would permit him to retire to his diocese; but Buckingham excusing himself
by

by saying such permission would rouse the suspicion of Richard, the prelate found means to escape, and crossed the sea to Flanders, from whence he wrote an apology to the duke, encouraging him to proceed with his undertaking, and assuring him he could serve the cause much more effectually on the continent than in England. Morton, knowing the duke's heat and precipitation, was afraid of being personally involved in some rash project, that might have cost him his life before their design could be brought to maturity; and therefore he withdrew from his habitation. In the mean time the countess of Richmond being informed of their plan, sent back Bray to the duke to signify her approbation and gratitude; and assure him that she would, without loss of time, endeavour to obtain the consent of the queen dowager to the projected marriage. She did not doubt of meeting with success in this negotiation, as the queen still continued in the sanctuary at Westminster, deploring the untimely death of her two sons, and pouring forth imprecations against their inhuman butcher. The countess employed her physician, whose name was Lewis, to visit Elizabeth in the way of his profession; and make her acquainted with the design which was formed in behalf of her children against the inhuman usurper; and she received the intimation with eagerness and joy. She assured him that all the friends of her late husband should join the earl of Richmond, but in the mean time she insisted upon that nobleman's engaging by oath to marry her daughter Elizabeth, or her younger sister Cecilia, in case the other should die before the consummation of the marriage.

A good understanding being thus established between the queen dowager, the countess of Richmond, and the duke of Buckingham, each in particular, began to engage a number of adherents;

The duke of Buckingham levies forces in private.

A. C. 1483. and they succeeded even beyond expectation. Richard had by his cruelty rendered himself odious to the nation in general; and almost all the partisans of the house of York were incensed against him on account of the murder of the two princes. All the Lancastrians joyfully embraced a project that tended to re-establish a prince of that house on the throne of England; and moderate people, who had nothing in view but the good of their country, could not but favour a design, the success of which would put an end to those civil dissensions with which the realm had been so long afflicted. The duke of Buckingham, as chief of the enterprize, employed his friends in Wales to enlist men privately, that he might be able to assemble an army all at once, when it should be found necessary to declare their intention: at the same time he entered into engagements with the gentlemen of Dorsetshire, Devonshire, and Cornwall, who promised to levy troops, and join the earl of Richmond at his landing. This was likewise his own design; while others of his adherents were instructed to excite insurrections in different parts of the country, in order to divide Richard's forces, and distract his attention. The marquis of Dorset, who had lately quitted the sanctuary, his brother Sir Richard Willeville, the bishop of Exeter, his brother Sir Edward Courtenay, and several other persons of distinction, engaged in this association. The countess of Richmond sent two messengers to her son in Brittany, by different ways, to inform him of the resolution which had been taken in his favour, and the conditions on which he was invited to land in England. He then resided at Vannes, where he had been kept several years a kind of prisoner at large, in consequence of the convention subsisting between the duke and the fourth Edward.

The earl was not more rejoiced at the steps which were taken in his favour by his friends in England, than embarrassed about the means of returning in a suitable manner to his native country. He was not ignorant of the agreement between Edward IV. and the duke of Brittany, touching the confinement of his person; and he knew that Richard had made advances to the duke on the same subject: but, as he could not pretend to take the advantage of his good fortune without the concurrence of that prince, he frankly communicated to him every circumstance of the plan, and solicited his friendship and assistance. He found the duke very well disposed to favour his enterprize. He had not engaged in any treaty with Richard, whom he detested for his tyranny and inhuman disposition; and he had some pretensions to the earldom of Richmond in England, which his ancestors had possessed, and which he did not despair of retrieving, provided the earl should by his means ascend the throne of England. This is said to have been the principal article of their agreement, in consideration of which the duke engaged to assist him with troops and vessels. Henry having secured this point with the duke of Brittany, dispatched a messenger with letters to his mother, and the duke of Buckingham, informing them of the progress he had made, and desiring they would be ready to receive him in the beginning of October. By these tidings all the conspirators were put in motion; and each individual repaired to the post assigned to him, in order to levy troops, or excite insurrections.

A. C. 1483.
The duke of Brittany promises to assist the earl of Richmond.

Holingshed.

Notwithstanding all their precautions, these steps could not be taken with such secrecy as to elude the vigilance of Richard, who discovered that some plot was formed against him, though he was still ignorant of the quarter from which the storm impended. He forthwith advanced from York to-

Open rupture between the king and the duke of Buckingham.

A. C. 1483. wards the center of his kingdom ; and issued orders into different parts, directing the troops to be in readiness to march at the first notice. His reflexion soon pointed out to him the duke of Buckingham as the author of those commotions, as he had retired from court in disgust ; was the only nobleman in England, who by his genius, wealth, and influence, could form and execute any scheme of such importance ; and the escape of the bishop of Ely bore all the marks of the duke's connivance. Alarmed by these suspicions, he sent for the duke to court, that he might consult him on some affairs of consequence ; and Buckingham excused himself, on pretence of indisposition. The king being more and more confirmed in his conjectures, by this evasion, insisted upon seeing him, by a peremptory order that would admit of no apology ; and to this the duke answered, that he did not choose to trust his person with his most inveterate enemy, on whom he neither could, nor would, for the future, place the smallest dependence. After this declaration, he knew there was no medium to be observed. He immediately assembled his troops, and began his march towards the western provinces, where the earl of Richmond intended to land, and where he expected to be joined by the rest of the confederacy.

* The duke of Buckingham is deserted, betrayed, and put to death.

Though Richard was not a little surprised to find the duke so well prepared, he had taken such precautions as enabled him to bring an army into the field without delay ; and he appointed the rendezvous at Leicester, resolving to go in quest of the enemy, and engage him before he should be reinforced. He would have found it difficult, however, to prevent the junction of the confederates, had they not been kept asunder by an unforeseen accident. The duke of Buckingham advanced by long marches to the side of the Severne, in his way
to

to join his friends in the counties of Devon and Dorset; but the river had overflowed its banks in such an extraordinary manner, as to deluge the whole adjacent country; so that for six days, he could neither pass the stream, nor find subsistence in the place where he encamped. His Welsh followers, dispirited by the want of provision, the excessive rains, the intolerable fatigues to which they were exposed, as well as by the inundation, which they looked upon as an unfavourable omen, retired to their mountains, in spite of all his remonstrances and intreaties; and the desertion was so general, that he was left with one domestic only. In this forlorn situation, he saw no other resource than that of concealing himself, until he should be able to take other measures. He therefore retired to the house of one Banister, who had lived in his service, and owed his all to the bounty of the duke and his father. Richard was no sooner informed of the dispersion of his enemies, than he published a proclamation, setting the price of a thousand pounds on the head of the duke of Buckingham; and Banister was such an ungrateful wretch, as to betray his master and benefactor for the sake of this reward. He discovered him to the sheriff of Shropshire, who with a band of armed men, surrounded the house, and took the unhappy duke prisoner, in the disguise of a peasant. He was conveyed to Shrewsbury, and earnestly desired he might be admitted into the king's presence; but, this was a favour he could not obtain: and he was immediately beheaded by Richard's order, without any form of process. His friends, who waited for his crossing the Severne, being informed of the desertion of his Welsh troops, dispersed immediately. Some concealed themselves in the houses of their relations; others fled to sanctuaries; but, the greater part embarked for Brittany, and the marquis of Dorset was of that number.

A. C. 1483.

The earl of Richmond attempts to make a descent upon England.

While the duke of Buckingham thus hastened to destruction, Henry earl of Richmond, supposing that his affairs in England were still in a prosperous train, set sail from St. Malo, in the latter end of October, with five thousand men, embarked in forty vessels, an armament with which he had been supplied by the duke of Brittany; but, his fleet was dispersed by a storm, which forced part of his ships on the coast of France, while the rest were driven back to the place from whence they had taken their departure. The ship in which the earl himself embarked, having weathered the storm, arrived at Pool in Dorsetshire, where finding the shore crowded with armed men, he would not land, but sent some persons ashore in the boat, to learn whether they were friends or enemies. The commander of the English troops told them, he belonged to the duke of Buckingham, who had sent him to that place to receive the earl of Richmond. But, whether Henry discovered them to be the militia of the country, assembled by Richard's officers, or was determined against landing without the forces which had embarked in the expedition, he continued some days hovering on the coast, in hope of being joined by his fleet; and, as none of his vessels appeared, he sailed back to Normandy, where he was informed of Buckingham's disaster. Then he returned to Brittany, where he found the marquis of Dorset, and the other refugees, who in some measure consoled him for his miscarriage, by assuring him, that Richard was universally hated by his subjects; and that they would rise against him with the very first opportunity. Henry conceived a good omen from this information; and the duke of Brittany promising to continue his assistance, he resolved to make another attempt with all convenient expedition. In the mean time, he solemnly swore, on Christmas-day, in the cathedral

dral of Rennes, that he would marry the princess Elizabeth; or, in case of her death, her younger sister Cecilia; and he no sooner took the oath, than all the English who were present, swore allegiance to him as king of England. A. C. 1483.

During these transactions in Brittany, Richard sacrificed a great number of victims to his vengeance; and among the rest, Sir Thomas St. Leger, who had married his own sister Anne, widow of the duke of Exeter. In order to dispatch these executions, and avoid the tedious formalities of the law, he granted to Sir Ralph Ashton a commission, to exercise the office of vice-constable, with the same murdering power which had been formerly vested in Tyrrel; and this officer making a progress into the western counties, filled them with bloodshed and lamentation. All opposition being thus quelled, the king called a parliament, which met in the month of January; and, as none of the members durst contradict his will, an act was passed, declaring Edward's children bastards, and confirming the pretended right and irregular election of Richard. They likewise brought a bill of attainder against Henry earl of Richmond, and all his adherents, comprehending all those who were concerned in the duke of Buckingham's conspiracy, except the countess of Richmond, against whom no information had been presented. Richard, however, desired her husband lord Stanley to keep a watchful eye over her conduct; and, in order to attach that nobleman still more firmly to his interest, he created him lord high constable of England, with authority over Ashton, who had by this time performed the service for which he was appointed. Proceedings in parliament.
Rymer.
A. C. 1484.

When Richard thought he had, by these executions, intirely extinguished the conspiracy; Thomas Hatton, whom he had sent ambassador to the court of Brittany, on his return to England, gave him

A. C. 1484.
Richard
concludes a
treaty with
Peter de
Landais, mi-
nister of the
duke of
Brittany.

Ad. Pub.

to understand that the design of the invasion still subsisted : that the duke had promised to continue his assistance to the earl of Richmond ; and, that Henry and the English refugees held frequent conferences, to concert measures for the execution of their project. Richard though he believed himself so much master in England, that no person would presume to take arms against his government, resolved to render himself still more secure by foreign alliances. He had already renewed the treaties with Spain and Portugal, and he now sent ambassadors to the archduke Maximilian, governor of the Low Countries for his son Philip, who, by his mother, was, like the princes of Castile and Portugal, descended from the house of Lancaster. The pretence of this embassy was to renew the commercial truce between Flanders and England ; but, the ambassadors had instructions to enquire whether or not that court entertained any design upon the crown of England, or had engaged in alliance with the pretender : at the same time, the king of England sent envoys to the court of France, to confirm and prolong the truce with that kingdom. As he knew the duke of Brittany was embarked in the interests of the earl of Richmond, he determined to exert his utmost endeavours, to detach him from the cause of that nobleman ; and an accident presented him with a very favourable opportunity. The duke being old and infirm, was entirely directed by his treasurer Peter Landais, the son of a taylor, who used his credit with such insolence, as intailed upon him the hatred of all the Bretons. In the course of this very year, the nobility had entered into an association against him, and even attempted to seize his person in the duke's palace ; but, their scheme miscarried, and they were declared rebels and traitors by means of the incensed favourite. Landais knowing he was the object of universal

universal hate in his own country, thought it would be necessary to fortify himself with some foreign assistance; and with this view sent ambassadors to Richard, who gladly listened to his proposals. A truce was concluded between England and Brittany; but by another private treaty, the king engaged to assist the duke with a thousand archers for the defence of his minister, who, in all probability undertook to deliver the earl of Richmond into the hands of Richard: at least he promised that Henry should have no further assistance from the duke his master.

This affair being settled to the king's satisfaction, he turned his attention to James IV. of Scotland, whom as a descendant of the house of Somerset, he imagined a favourer of Richmond. With this prince he negotiated a truce for one year, and settled the contract of marriage between his niece Anne, daughter of the duke of Suffolk, and the duke of Rothsay, eldest son of the Scottish monarch. Richard's son, the prince of Wales, dying about this period, he declared the young lady's brother, the earl of Lincoln, presumptive heir of the crown; and resolved that his declaration should be ratified by parliament. Over and above these precautions, he sent an embassy of obedience to pope Innocent VIII. who had just succeeded Sixtus IV. in the pontifical chair; and, in a little time after he had taken these salutary measures, Charles VIII. king of France, desired a safe-conduct for the ambassadors he intended for the court of London.

As Peter Landais, minister of the duke of Bretagne, had no occasion for the archers which had been stipulated in the treaty, Richard, perceiving that he had nothing to expect from that quarter, unless he could indulge him with other advantages; he therefore, on pretence of prolonging the truce, entered into a new negotiation with the duke and his

Death of the
prince of
Wales.

Rymer.

The earl of
Richmond
escapes into
France.

A. C. 1484. his favourite, and is said to have offered very valuable rewards for the person of Henry; during whose life he could enjoy no internal quiet. The duke by this time, was quite superannuated, and his intellects greatly impaired; so that in effect Landais acted as sovereign of Brittany; and to him Richard's chief attention was directed. The king of England is said to have granted letters patent, restoring to Francis II. duke of Bretagne, the earldom of Richmond and all its dependances: but with respect to Landais, the nature of the gratification which he expected is not so perfectly known. Certain it is, Richard was very liberal in his promises, but the other insisted upon having something more substantial; and, before the treaty was finished, the earl of Richmond was informed of the negotiation by Morton bishop of Ely, who, having spies in the court of England, understood that the king often conferred in private with the bishop of Leon, ambassador from the duke of Bretagne. Henry, alarmed at this intelligence, resolved to retire into France, and for that purpose secretly obtained a passport from king Charles; but, as he naturally supposed that Landais had employed emissaries to watch his motions, he found himself embarrassed about the means of accomplishing his escape. The duke of Bretagne had just recovered of a lethargy, during which his minister had negotiated with Richard; and the earl of Richmond sent all his English friends and followers to congratulate that prince, in his name, on the re-establishment of his health, justly concluding that they would not suspect him of any design to retire while such a number of hostages remained at the court of Brittany. The scheme succeeded to his wish: being left almost alone at Vannes, he found an opportunity to withdraw in disguise, accompanied by five persons; he immediately quitted the high road, and rode across
the

Argentré.

the country through lanes and unfrequented paths, without halting, until he arrived at Angers the capital of Anjou. Without such diligence he must have certainly been taken; for his escape from Vannes was no sooner known, than those who were employed to watch his conduct pursued him with such speed, that they arrived upon the frontiers in less than one hour after he had passed the confines of Brittany. The duke, understanding that he had retired from apprehension of being betrayed by Landais, was incensed against his favourite, and allowed all the English in his dominions to join the earl, to whom he sent his compliments and proffers of service. From Angers Henry repaired to Langeais, where he met with an hospitable reception at the court of Charles, though it was still distracted by different factions; and here he was joined by the earl of Oxford, who had been imprisoned by order of Edward IV. in the castle of Hammes in Picardy. Hearing in his confinement that the earl of Richmond laid claim to the crown of England, he had prevailed upon the governor of that fortress to declare for Henry, and now they went together to visit him at the court of France. The earl of Oxford was a considerable accession to his party; and several other noblemen in England sent him secret assurances that he might depend upon their service whenever they should find a proper opportunity to declare against Richard; among these was the lord Stanley, who had married the earl's mother; and on that account was so much suspected by the king that he could not obtain leave to retire to his house in the country, until he had left his son at court as an hostage.

Richard was at such pains to learn the nature of the plan which his enemies projected against him, that he at last discovered the most material circumstance, which was the union of the queen's friends

with

Richard makes advances to the queen dowager.

A. C. 1484. with the partisans of the house of Lancaster, by means of Henry's marriage with Elizabeth. Roused at this intelligence he resolved to prevent a match which could not fail to shake the foundation of his government; and he saw no method so effectual as that of making Elizabeth his own consort. This would have appeared an impracticable expedient to any other person but Richard, as it was attended with three obstacles seemingly insurmountable, before such a marriage could take effect: there was a necessity for removing his present wife; for obtaining the consent of the queen dowager, whose brothers and sons he had butchered; and for prevailing upon the pope to grant a dispensation for an incestuous marriage between an uncle and a niece. He began the execution of this strange project by sending several civil messages to the queen dowager, importing that he wished for nothing so much as to live in a good understanding with her, that he might have an opportunity to give her convincing proofs of his friendship. He owned she had met with cruel treatment, in order to atone for which he promised to assign a considerable pension for her subsistence; to bestow profitable employments on her two brothers, and to procure advantageous matches for her daughters. As he knew these advances would appear suspicious to the queen, he instructed his emissaries to ascribe them to the dictates of his conscience, which was disturbed by the remembrance of the wrongs he had done her family. They declared that his intention was to raise the princess Elizabeth to the throne, as death had deprived him of his own son; and that he would revoke the declaration he had made in favour of the earl of Lincoln. The other part of his promise, touching the safety of the queen and her family, as well as the intended provision, he confirmed by a solemn oath, taken at an assembly of the lords spiritual and temporal.

These

These promises and professions made an impression on the mind of the queen, who was heartily tired with being cooped up in a sanctuary, very ill provided with the necessaries of life; who loved her brothers with the warmest affection, and who reflected that she and her daughters had nothing to expect but mischief and destruction, should she irritate the king by rejecting his offers. Swayed by these considerations, she not only went to court with her five daughters, where they met with a most gracious reception, but also wrote to her brother the marquis of Dorset, to abandon the earl of Richmond, and return to England, where he might depend upon Richard's generosity. The marquis, equally weak and ambitious, was so agreeably flattered with this prospect of the king's favour, that he withdrew privately from Paris, with design to return to England; but he was pursued and brought back by the adherents of Henry, who persuaded him to stay and share his fortune. Richard, having thus accomplished the most difficult part of his plan, began to contrive means for removing his wife, that he might be at liberty to espouse his niece Elizabeth: and whatever expedient he used, certain it is, she did not long survive her son the prince of Wales. If we may believe Buck, she died of grief at the loss of that young prince; but all the other historians alledge, that Richard killed her either with unkindness or poison; and thus she suffered the punishment which she in some measure deserved, for having thrown herself into the arms of the barbarian who had murdered her first husband the prince of Wales, son of Henry VI. at Tewkesbury.

The king professed the deepest affliction at the death of his consort, who was interred with great pomp and magnificence; but, notwithstanding his grief, she was hardly in her tomb, when he

A. C. 1484.

Who is persuaded to leave the sanctuary.

Death of queen Anne.

A. C. 1484.

Richard
makes his
addresses to
his niece
Elizabeth.
Hall.
Holling-
shed.

he made proposals of marriage to his niece Elizabeth. She received his addresses with horror, and begged he would never more speak to her on that subject; but he did not doubt of being able to vanquish her reluctance, though he laid aside his design until a more favourable opportunity should occur, as he did not think it would be politic to force her inclinations. Mean while, understanding that the governor of Hammes had revolted, he ordered the commander of Calais to reduce that fortress to his obedience; and his order was so expeditiously executed, that the earl of Oxford, who marched to its relief, could not reach the neighbourhood until after it had capitulated; the garrison, however, joined the earl of Richmond. The king of England had equipped a squadron of ships to oppose the descent of Henry; but, the truce with Brittany having been prolonged for seven years, and France expressing very little inclination to assist his enemy, he thought the expence of a fleet altogether unnecessary, and ordered it to be laid up in the beginning of summer.

A. C. 1485.

Henry earl
of Rich-
mond pre-
pares for his
voyage to
England.

The earl of Richmond, eager to seize this opportunity, solicited the French ministry for succours with such importunity, that they resolved to grant his request; not that they imagined his enterprize would be crowned with success, but they thought it was the interest of France to foment the dissensions of England. They therefore engaged to supply him with two thousand men, and vessels for transporting them to England, and even furnished him with a sum of money; though they insisted upon his leaving hostages in France, as a security for refunding the charges of this expedition. The earl, who had no great confidence in the marquis of Dorset, was glad of this occasion to leave him at Paris, while he himself repaired to Rouen, where the troops were ordered to assemble. There he

Comines.

received

received the disagreeable news of the queen's death, and understood that Richard intended to marry his niece Elizabeth, and bestow her sister Cecilia on one of his favourites. He forthwith called a council of his friends, to deliberate on these unfavourable tidings; and they advised him to marry the sister of Sir Thomas Herbert, a very powerful knight in Wales, whose interest would be a great acquisition. Henry relished the advice, and dispatched a member to Herbert with his proposal; but the passes were so guarded, that he could not execute his commission; and this was a very lucky disappointment for the earl of Richmond, who, if the alliance had taken place, would in all probability have lost the interest of Edward's family, and their adherents, who engaged in his cause merely from the hope that he would unite the houses of York and Lancaster by his marriage with the princess Elizabeth. Henry, in a few days after his arrival at Rouen, received letters from England, inviting him to land in Wales, where he would find the people ready to take arms in his favour, together with a large sum of money which had been collected for his service. He was likewise given to understand, that the whole kingdom was discontented at the conduct and character of Richard; and that there could not be a more favourable juncture for Henry's landing, as the tyrant had made no preparations for opposing his descent.

Encouraged by this information the earl hastened his departure; and embarking with his troops at Harfleur on the last day of July, arrived on the sixth day of August in Milford-haven in Wales. Next day he advanced to Haverford, where he was received amidst the acclamations of the inhabitants: from hence he dispatched an express to his mother, with an account of his arrival, and intended march to London; then he sent intimation to his

Lands at
Milford in
Wales.

A. C. 1485. friends to join him upon his route, and set out for Shrewsbury, where he purposed to pass the Severne. Richard, being informed of his landing, ordered Sir Thomas Herbert to assemble the militia of Wales, and stop the earl's progress, until he should be in a condition to march against him. Herbert having been already gained over by Henry's friends, allowed him to pass unmolested. He was joined on his route by Sir Rees ap Thomas, the most powerful commoner in Wales, and a great number of gentlemen of that country; so that his army daily increased, and in a few days he arrived at Shrewsbury, which he entered without opposition. Mean while a body of five thousand men was raised by the lord Stanley and his brother Sir William, on pretence of serving Richard; and they advanced to Litchfield, as if their design was to oppose the invader: but Sir William had a private interview with Henry, whom he assured of his brother's assistance, as soon as he could declare himself with any safety to his son, the lord Strange, who was detained as an hostage by the tyrant.

Hollingshed.

He meets
king Rich-
ard at Bos-
worth.

Richard had by this time assembled his forces at Nottingham. Hearing that the earl's design was to march to London, he resolved to give him battle on his route; and with that view encamped between Leicester and Coventry. Henry, in the mean time advanced to Litchfield, from whence the lord Stanley retired at his approach, and took post at Atherstone; and the earl having taken his measures with the two brothers, continued his march to Leicester, where he proposed to venture a decisive engagement. In the neighbourhood of Tamworth he dropped behind his army, and in a fit of musing lost his way; so that he was obliged to lie all night at a village, without daring to ask the road, for fear of being suspected, and falling into the hands of his enemies. Next morning he
made

made shift to rejoin his army at Tamworth, where finding his friends had been greatly alarmed at his absence, he told them he had gone to confer with some particular noblemen, who did not chuse to appear as yet in his behalf. That same day he privately visited the lord Stanley at Atherstone; and on the morrow, being informed that Richard had marched from Leicester to give him battle, he resolved to spare him one half of the way. On the twenty-second day of August, the two armies came in sight of each other, at Bosworth, which is rendered famous in history by the battle which terminated the dispute between the houses of York and Lancaster. Richard's army consisted of twelve thousand men well accoutred. The command of the van he conferred on the duke of Norfolk; and he himself took post in the center, with the crown upon his head, either as a mark of distinction, or a challenge to his adversary. The earl of Richmond drew up his troops, amounting to five thousand men ill armed, in two lines; the command of the first he gave to the earl of Oxford, while he himself conducted the other. Lord Stanley, who quitted Atherstone, took post in a piece of ground fronting the interval between the two armies; and his brother, at the head of two thousand men, stood facing him on the other side. Richard, suspecting Stanley's design, ordered him to join his army, and receiving an equivocal answer, would have put his son to death, had not he been diverted from his purpose by the remonstrances of his generals, who observed that such a sacrifice could be of no advantage to the royal cause, but would infallibly provoke Stanley and his brother to join the foe; though perhaps their intention was to remain neuter, and declare for the victor. Richard was persuaded by this representation: but he committed a fatal error in leaving the two brothers at liberty

Sir T. More

Buck.

A. C. 1485. to act as they should think proper. His army being equal in number to that of Richmond and the Stanleys, when joined together, he ought to have posted two bodies opposite to the brothers, with orders to attack them if they should attempt to join the enemy, while he himself with the remainder might have given battle to Henry.

Where he
obtains a
complete
victory.

The two leaders having harangued their soldiers, the earl of Richmond made a motion to the left, in order to avoid a morass that divided the two armies; and, by this prudent measure, not only secured his right flank, but gained another advantage, in having the sun at his back, while it shone full in the face of the enemy. Richard, seeing him approach, commanded the trumpets to sound; and the battle began with a general discharge of arrows, after which the king's army advanced to close combat. The lord Stanley, perceiving that the duke of Norfolk extended his line to the left, in order to surround the enemy, suddenly joined the earl of Richmond's right wing, in order to sustain the attack; and Norfolk, seeing this junction, made a halt to close his files, which had been too much opened for the extension of the line. The match being now pretty equal, the fight was renewed, though not with equal ardour on both sides. The king's troops seemed to act with reluctance, and were, in all probability, dispirited by the conduct of the two Stanleys, not knowing but their example might be followed by others in the heat of the engagement: on the other hand, the earl of Oxford charged them with such impetuosity, as contributed to damp their courage, and fill their hearts with despondence. Richard, in order to animate them with his presence and example, advanced to the front of the battle: there perceiving his competitor, who had quitted the second line for the same purpose, he couched his lance,

and,

and, clapping spurs to his horse, ran against him with such fury, that he killed his standard-bearer Sir William Brandon, father of Charles Brandon, afterwards duke of Suffolk, and unhorsed Sir John Cheney, an officer remarkable for his strength and prowess. Henry, though he did not seem very eager to engage such an antagonist, advanced to meet him, and kept him at his sword's point, until they were parted by the soldiers, who interposed. While Richard made this furious effort against the person of his adversary, Sir William Stanley declared for Richmond, and attacking the royalists in flank, drove their right wing upon the center, which was so disordered by the shock, that it began to fly with the utmost precipitation; while the earl of Northumberland, who commanded a separate body, stood motionless, and refused to act against the enemy. The king, seeing all his endeavours ineffectual to rally his troops, which were by this time in the utmost confusion, and either scorning to outlive the disgrace of an overthrow, or dreading the thought of falling alive into the hands of his enemy, rushed into the midst of the battle, where he fought with the most desperate courage, until he was overpowered by numbers, and fell dead in the midst of those whom he had slain. Tho' the battle lasted about two hours, including the time spent in the pursuit, there was not above one thousand of the royalists killed on the occasion, because the greater part fled betimes without fighting; and the earl did not lose above an hundred men, of whom Sir William Brandon was the most considerable. On the side of the vanquished, besides Richard himself, the duke of Norfolk * lost his life; the lord Ferrars of Chartley, Sir Richard

Death of
Richard.

* The following distich was fixed on the gate of the house in which the duke of Norfolk lodged at Leicester :

Jack of Norfolk be not too bold ;
For Dicken thy master is bought and
fold.

A. C. 1485. Ratcliff, and Sir Robert Brackenbury, met with the same fate; the earl of Surry, son to the duke of Norfolk, was taken prisoner and confined in the Tower of London, from which, however, he was soon set at liberty. The earl of Northumberland, and several partisans of Richard, were taken into favour; and others had the good fortune to escape: but Catesby, the infamous minister and confident of the tyrant, who had so villainously betrayed Hastings, having fallen into the hands of the victors, was executed in two days after the battle, at Leicester, with some others of the same stamp, who had devoted themselves to the service of Richard. Immediately after the engagement, the earl of Richmond fell down on his knees in the open field, and thanked the Almighty for the blessing he had bestowed on his arms: then riding up to an eminence, he applauded the soldiers for their valiant behaviour, and promised to reward them according to their deserts. Richard's crown being found among the spoils of the field, was, by the lord Stanley, placed upon the head of Henry, who was saluted as king by the whole army; and from that moment he assumed the title. Richard's body being stripped stark naked, and covered with wounds, filth, and blood, was thrown over a horse's back, with the arms on one side and the legs on the other, and carried to Leicester, where, after having been exposed two days, and treated with the utmost indignity, it was buried in the abbey-church in a private manner; though Henry, in respect to his family, ordered a tomb to be erected over his grave.

Holingshead.
Hall.
Luck.

Richard's
character.

Such was the end of Richard III. the most cruel, unrelenting tyrant that ever sat on the throne of England. He seems to have been an utter stranger to the softer emotions of the human heart, and entirely destitute of every social sentiment. His ruling passion was ambition, for the gratification

tion of which he trampled upon every law, both human and divine: but this thirst of dominion was unattended with the least mark of generosity, or any desire of rendering himself agreeable to his fellow-creatures: it was the ambition of a savage †, not of a prince; for he was a solitary being, altogether detached from the rest of mankind, and incapable of that satisfaction which results from private friendship and disinterested society. We must acknowledge, however, that, after his accession to the throne, his administration in general was conducted by the rules of justice; that he enacted salutary laws, and established wise regulations; and that, if his reign had been protracted, he might have proved an excellent king to the English nation. He possessed an uncommon solidity of judgment, a natural fund of eloquence, the most acute penetration, and such courage as no danger could dismay. He was dark, silent, and reserved, and so much master of dissimulation, that it was almost impossible to dive into his real sentiments, when he wanted to conceal his designs. His stature was small, his aspect cloudy, severe, and forbidding; one of his arms was withered, and one shoulder higher than the other, from which circumstances of deformity he acquired the epithet of Crook-Back. Richard III. was the last of the An-gevin race surnamed Plantagenet, which had possessed the crown of England for the space of three hundred and thirty years: but he was not the last male of that family in England; for the earl of Warwick, son to his brother Clarence, was still

† He was often characterised by the name of the boar. And he and his three favourites Catesby, Radcliff, and Lovel, were included in a satirical couplet which was frequently repeated in his life-time,

The cat, the rat, and Lovel the dog,
Rule all England under the hog.

Richard left one natural son, a minor, whom he had appointed governor of Calais, Guisnes, and all the Marches of Picardy belonging to England.

A.C. 1485. alive, and the only remaining branch of all the numerous posterity of the third Edward, which had been almost totally extinguished in the civil war; a war which had raged for thirty years, and was terminated by the battle of Bosworth, after having cost the lives of above one hundred thousand Englishmen, including a great number of princes of the houses of York and Lancaster.

OF THE CHURCH. .

From the Death of EDWARD III. to the
Union of the two Houses of York and
Lancaster.

WICKLIFF had gained such a number of A.C. 1377.
profelytes, that although the church was Wickliff
alarmed at the progress of his doctrine, it summoned
could not proceed to extremities with the author, to appear
who had not only acquired great popularity, but before the
was, in a particular manner, patronized by the duke synod.
of Lancaster and the lord Piercy, who at that time
engrossed the whole administration. Pope Gregory
XI. directed a bull to the university of Oxford,
complaining of that body's conniving at the doctrine
of Wickliff; and another to the bishops, command-
ing them to examine and suppress the opinions of this
archheretic. He was accordingly summoned to a sy-
nod at Lambeth, where he explained away in an auk-
ward manner, three of his capital positions, which
gave the greatest offence to the clergy: namely,
that dominion was founded on grace; that the tem-
poral power might seize upon the patrimony of the
church; and that no ecclesiastics ought to be vested
with a coercive power. In the midst of the synod's
deliberations, one Lewis Clifford, a man of some
distinction, entered the assembly, and in a peremp-
tory manner, forbade them to proceed to censure
against Wickliff. He was followed by a great
number of that reformer's adherents; so that the
bishops found it convenient to act with moderation,
and to dismiss the culprit, after having enjoined
him silence. To this injunction, however, he paid
no sort of regard; and his doctrine continued to
gain

A. C. 1382. gain ground, under the favour of John duke of Lancaster.

William Courtney succeeds to the archbishopric of Canterbury.

At the death of Gregory XI. there was a competition for the papacy between Urban VI. and Clement VII. and both being elected by different factions of cardinals, a schism in the church ensued. The king of France declared for Clement; and Urban's title was recognized by the English clergy. In the parliament that preceded this schism, a statute had been enacted in favour of the clergy, empowering them to bring actions of trespass against purveyors who should give them disturbance, and entitling them to treble damage; exempting them from indictments and imprisonment, for holding pleas in the spiritual court; and subjecting to imprisonment and payment of damages, any minister of the king or other person, who should arrest or interrupt a clergyman in the exercise of his function. We have, in the civil history, mentioned the statute enacted by the parliament at Westminster against papal provisions, in which there was a clause, prohibiting any Englishman from farming the living of an alien, without the king's particular licence. At this period, William Courtney succeeded to the archbishopric of Canterbury; and celebrated the king's marriage, without having received the pall from Rome, which he looked upon as a ceremony that did not at all affect the rights of his metropolitan function.

Positions of Wickliff condemned as heretical, and his followers prosecuted.

In the course of the same year, fresh articles were exhibited against Wickliff and his followers, particularly Nicholas Repyngdon, whose books, together with the tenets of Wickliff, underwent a synodical censure. These doctrines were espoused by Philip Repyngdon doctor in divinity, and John Ashton, both of the university of Oxford: though the name of Lollards was indifferently given to the followers of Wickliff, and the proselytes of one

William

William Smith a mechanic, and William de Swin-
 durby a priest, who vented notions of their own,
 without seeming to have any correspondence with
 the other. Several tenets of Wickliff had been
 censured by W. de Berton, chancellor of the univer-
 sity, as erroneous, repugnant to the determinations
 of the church, and contrary to the catholic verity :
 and now W. Courtney archbishop of Canterbury
 assembling seven suffragan prelates, fourteen doctors
 of the canon and civil law, with seventeen doctors
 and six bachelors of divinity, condemned the fol-
 lowing positions as heretical : That the substance of
 the bread and wine remains in the sacrament after
 consecration : That the accidents do not remain
 without their subject, after consecration in the sacra-
 ment : That Christ is not identically and corporeally
 present in the sacrament of the altar : That a bishop
 or priest in mortal sin, cannot ordain, consecrate,
 or baptize : That there is no foundation in the gos-
 pel to believe that Christ instituted mass : That God
 ought to obey the devil : That if the pope be
 a wicked man, he is a member of the devil, and
 hath no authority over the faithful, nor any com-
 mission except from the emperor : That, after the
 death of Urban VI. no person ought to be ac-
 knowledged as pope ; but christians ought to live
 independently, like the Greek church : That eccle-
 siastics ought to have no temporal possessions : And
 that auricular confession is unnecessary and super-
 fluous. Wickliff's followers, Hereford, Repying-
 don, and Ashton, were obliged to recant these te-
 nets ; and the archbishop directed all his suffragans
 to prevent them from being taught in their respective
 dioceses. On the thirteenth day of July, the king
 issued a writ to the chancellor and proctors of the
 university of Oxford, to expel all graduates sus-
 pected of favouring those tenets, unless they would
 purge themselves before the archbishop of Canter-
 bury.

Knyghton,

A. C. 1382. bury. They were likewise ordered to search for all books written by Wickliff or Hereford, and transmit them to the archbishop without alteration. Rymer. This order was executed by doctor Rigge, who was by this time chancellor, although he himself was supposed to favour Wickliff: yet no violence was offered to the person of this reformer, who lived unmolested at his living of Lutterworth in Leicestershire, where he soon after this period died of the palsy; nor were the Lollards much troubled in the sequel of this reign, except by some writs for seizing their books, dispersing their conventicles, and imprisoning their teachers.

A. C. 1383.

Measures
taken by the
government
against the
encroach-
ments of the
papal power.

The government seemed to be more upon its guard against the encroachments of Rome; for the king obliged the pope's collector to take an oath, that he would be true to the king and crown; that he would do nothing detrimental to the royal prerogative, or the laws of the kingdom; that he would not publish any letters from the pope, without the permission of the king's council; that he would not export money or plate from the kingdom, nor introduce any new customs, without the king's knowledge and particular licence. At the same time a writ was directed by the king to the archbishop of Canterbury, reminding him of his duty, to prevent all illegal impositions on the subject; informing him of the exactions of Rome; the resolution of the commons to hold those persons guilty of treason, who should bring in papal bulls, or levy impositions in favour of the pope. Writs of the same nature were directed to the other prelates, forbidding them to allow the levy of a tenth which the pope had imposed upon the clergy; and Darden the pope's nuncio was prohibited from collecting it on pain of forfeiting life and limb. Notwithstanding these precautions, a great number of clergymen ventured to disregard the king's injunctions, and repaired to Rome,

Rome, where they persuaded pope Boniface IX. A. C. 1388. who succeeded Urban, to declare against the statutes of Provisors, Quare impedit, and Premunire: but the government was so far from repealing those laws, that they were confirmed in parliament, which likewise enacted, that any person within the realm, bringing or sending summons, censure, or sentence of excommunication, against any person whatsoever for his assent to or execution of the said statute of Provisors, shall be arrested, imprisoned, and forfeit all his lands, tenements, goods, and chattels, and incur the penalty of life and member; and any prelate executing such summons, censure, or sentence of excommunication, shall be deprived of his temporalities; and they shall remain in the king's hands for due redress and correction.

The archbishop's suffragans, and clergy, protested in general terms against this bill; and this protest brought an impeachment by the commons on the archbishop of Canterbury, for obeying the pope in publishing such censures, as tended to the open dishonour of the crown, the subversion of the royal prerogative of the king's laws and his whole realm; and for aiding and abetting his holiness in a scheme for translating English prelates to foreign sees, to the prejudice of the king, the impoverishment of the nation, and contrary to the statutes of the realm. The archbishop in his defence acquitted himself intirely of the charge, protesting that he would adhere loyally to the king; and endeavour, as in duty bound, to support his majesty in these and all other instances, in which the rights of the crown might be concerned. His answers were extremely agreeable to the commons; the parliament enacted a new statute of Premunire, more comprehensive than the former, as it affected not only the procurers, abettors, maintainers, and counsellors, but even the favourers of the papal usurpation; so that all ap-
plication

The arch-
bishop of
Canterbury
impeached
by the com-
mons.

A. C. 1388. plication to a foreign jurisdiction, either in the court of Rome or elsewhere, in prejudice of the king's crown and regality, falls within the penalty of this statute.

Coke Instit.

A. C. 1393.

Address of
the Lollards
to parliament.

When Richard went over to Ireland, the Lollards, encouraged by his absence, presented an extravagant remonstrance to parliament, importing, That faith, hope, and charity, fled from the church of England as soon as she began to mismanage her temporalities : That the English priesthood was not derived from Christ, but from the pope : That the celibacy of the clergy was a source of scandalous impurities : That Christendom had been infected with idolatry by the notion of transubstantiation : That all exorcisms and benedictions, together with the tromperry of consecrating churches, altars, and vestments, favoured more of witchcraft and sorcery, than of religion : That the conjunction of civil and spiritual power in the same person, was subversive of all order and good government : That in prayers for the dead, one person was preferred to another : That pilgrimage, prayers, and offerings to images and crosses, were absurd and idolatrous : That auricular confession furnished the priests with opportunities to debauch their penitents : That, to deprive any person of his life, either in war, or a court of justice, was a practice contrary to the doctrine of the New Testament : and, That female vows to lead a single life, promoted infamous correspondence, abortion, and murder : That, seeing St. Paul has commanded us to be contented with food and raiment, mankind ought to moderate their desires ; and that goldsmiths, sword-cutlers, and many other kinds of artificers, ought to be suppressed, as the instruments of luxury and homicide. This strange address, which concluded with a stanza of monkish Latin verse, alarmed the clergy to such a degree, that the archbishop of York, and the bishop

shop of London, sent letters to Richard, complaining bitterly of the insolence of the Lollards. The king returned to England, boiling with indignation against this troublesome sect of heretics; an oath of submission, by way of test, against Lollardism, was imposed by the secular power, and Richard ordered the chancellor of Oxford to expel all those students or graduates, who were suspected of holding such opinions.

Rymer.

Courtney, archbishop of Canterbury, dying about this period, was succeeded by Arundel archbishop of York, who called a convocation at London, which condemned eighteen articles extracted from Wickliff's Triologus, brought in by the canonists and civilians of Oxford, who at the same time represented, that their exemption by a papal bull, from all archiepiscopal visitation, left them exposed to the tyranny of the chancellor; and therefore, they earnestly besought the metropolitan to resume the power which he antiently possessed. The archbishop relished the proposal, and resolved to visit the university; but receiving intimation that he would certainly be opposed by the chancellor and proctors, he applied to the king, who issued a writ directed to the chancellor and students, requiring them to admit the visitation of the archbishop, or their ordinary. They still pleaded their exemption; but, at length the dispute was compromised, and they complied with the visitation, pretending that they were visitable by the crown, though not by the archbishop.

A. C. 1396.

Dispute between arch-
bishop
Arundel and
the univer-
sity of Ox-
ford.

This prelate being afterwards exiled for high treason, repaired to Rome, where he was hospitably received by Boniface IX. who created him archbishop of St. Andrew's in Scotland, and intended to bestow upon him several livings in England. Richard, being apprized of his design, wrote such a peremptory letter to the pope, that his holiness thought

The pope
translates
English bi-
shops.

A. C. 1399. thought proper to abandon Arundel; and at the king's recommendation, filled the see of Canterbury with Roger Walden treasurer of England. He imagined that by this compliance he was intitled to take some freedoms with Richard; and tried his interest accordingly. He translated the bishop of Lincoln to the see of Chester, and conferred the bishopric of Lincoln on the famous Henry Beaufort, afterwards cardinal of England. This step gave great umbrage to the king, who assembled the clergy; and demanded whether or not, the pope had authority to create and translate bishops in England. They did not choose to make a direct answer to this question; but advised Richard to write a remonstrance to the pope, desiring him to forbear exerting such authority for the future. Peter de Bosco was afterwards sent over to England as the pope's nuncio, to solicit the affair of provisions in favour of his holiness; but he found the king inflexible, though he was politely received, and gratified with some valuable presents.

Proposal for
a general
council.

The schism in the church still continuing between Boniface IX. and Benedict XIII. the French king desired the assistance of Richard in restoring that union which was so necessary for the interest of Christianity; and the king of England assembled the most learned divines of the realm at Oxford, to deliberate on measures for obtaining this desirable end. The result of their consultation was, that a general council would be the most speedy and effectual method for reuniting Christendom in their religious tenets; and they promised to produce before such an assembly, two short propositions that would soon put an end to the schism. Twelve of these English divines were sent over to France, to settle some preliminaries with the doctors of Paris; and the French agreed to the project of a general council, though they insisted upon a total cessation of

of the powers of both popes, while the affair should be depending. A. C. 1401.

When Henry IV. ascended the throne, Walden was expelled by the pope from the see of Canterbury, which was restored to Arundel; and now began the persecution of the Lollards. The parliament enacted sanguinary laws, and invested the clergy with the power of taking away the lives of their fellow-creatures for mere matters of opinion. The first victim of this bloody inquisition was William Sautre, rector of the parish of St. Osyth, who had been examined before the convocation, touching some tenets of Lollardism; which he thought proper to recant: but, he afterwards readopted his former doctrine, and after a second hearing, was pronounced an heretic relapsed. Then they divested him of his patent, chalice, and chasuble. They destroyed his ecclesiastical tonsure; he was formally degraded by the archbishop, dressed in a lay habit, delivered over to the secular arm; and, by virtue of a writ de Heretico comburendo, was the first who suffered death for heresy in England. This execution served only to inflame the zeal, and propagate the doctrine of Lollards, who deviated still more and more from the doctrines of the established church. They affirmed, that the seven sacraments were no more than so many dead, unprofitable symbols: that celibacy was contrary to the first great law of God, and served to lessen the number of the inhabitants of the New Jerusalem: that the intention, and not the form, constituted the marriage: that the church was, during the present practice of religion, no better than the synagogue of Satan: and that the sacrament of the altar was a morsel of dead bread: that they declined bringing their children to be baptized in churches, because the priests were wicked and impure, and would communicate their impurity to

Persecution
against the
Lollards.

A. C. 1401. the infants they baptized : that there ought to be no distinction of days : that purgatory was a mere chimera : that penance was a hardship and imposition, and altogether superfluous, in a sinner whose repentance was sincere.

Archbishop
Arundel
makes pro-
visions
against the
progress of
Wickliff's
doctrine.

On the death of Boniface, Innocent VII. succeeded to the papal chair ; and next year, archbishop Arundel made a visitation of the university of Cambridge in right of his see, and reformed a number of abuses. In the parliament called at Westminster, two new statutes were enacted against the encroachments of Rome, ordaining, that no person under colour of bulls of exemption purchased from the pope, should trouble or disturb any prebendaries, keepers of hospitals, or vicars, in the enjoyment of the tythes due to them in their several benefices ; and, that no licence, granted upon provision to any benefice not yet vacant, should be valid or available. In the course of this year, one Thorp an ecclesiastic was committed to prison by the archbishop of Canterbury, for certain articles of faith, which were deemed heretical. He refused to swear by the bible, because it was no more than a creature, and therefore not intitled to adoration. He believed himself inspired by the same spirit which directed the apostles ; and published a performance called Thorp's Testament, in which he inveighed against the hierarchy, affirming, that bishops and priests ought to earn their subsistence by the work of their hands ; and when past their labour, subsist upon charity. In order to prevent the growth of such fanaticism, and the progress of Wickliff's doctrine, archbishop Arundel assembled the bishops and clergy of his province at Oxford ; and, after some deliberation, drew up a body of provisions, enacting, That no priest should preach to the people, unless authorized by the ecclesiastical laws, and approved by the diocesan :

fan : That all places where conventicles have been held, should remain under ecclesiastical interdict, until the persons who admitted them to preach, should have made satisfaction : That no preacher should broach any doctrine but such as had been determined by holy mother-church, or call in question any tenet which she had established, on pain of excommunication, from which he should not be absolved without having done penance, and published his recantation : That no instructor of youth should teach theological points contrary to the determination of the church ; or suffer his pupils to dispute in public or private, concerning matters of faith, on pain of being punished as a fautor of heresy : That no book of divinity composed by John Wickliff, or any other person since his time, should be read in schools, until first examined, approved, and licensed by one or other of the universities : That no person should attempt to translate the holy scriptures, without being properly authorized by the bishop of the place, or a provincial synod : That no clergyman should either propound any doctrine of an evil tendency, or suffer it to be propounded, on pain of incurring the greater excommunication : That all decrees, decretals, or constitutions, touching the worship of the cross, and of images, with all other outward ceremonies, should be punctually observed, under the penalty incurred by an heretic relapsed : That no clerk or chaplain should officiate in any part of the province in which he was not ordained, unless furnished with letters of recommendation by his diocesan : and, That in order to prevent the poison of heresy from spreading in the university, every warden, master, or principal of college or hall, should inquire every month into the opinions and principles of the students, reform their errors, and expel them in case of obstinacy and relapse ; otherwise the said

A. C. 1401. wardens should lose their preferment, and be excommunicated.

Knyghton.
Council of
Pisa.

A general council being summoned to meet at Pisa, to concert measures for removing the schism in the church; Henry Chicheley bishop of St. David's, Robert Allen bishop of Salisbury, and the prior of Canterbury, were chosen in convocation as deputies, to assist at the said council, to which the king sent Sir John Colvil, and Nicholas Rickston, as his

A. C. 1409. ambassadors. On the twenty-fifth day of March, this great assembly met, consisting of two and twenty cardinals, four patriarchs, twelve archbishops present, and fourteen represented by proxy, fourscore bishops besides proxies, eighty-seven abbots, and ambassadors from all the crowned heads, independent princes, and states of Europe. The two popes were summoned to appear, and submit to the decision of this council; but, as they did not obey the citation, the assembly, after having consumed thirteen sessions in preliminary discussions, at last decreed the two pretenders to the papacy, namely, Benedict XIII. and Gregory XII. incorrigible schismatics, and perjured heretics. They were deprived of all title and authority; all their transactions were declared void and of no effect; and the apostolical see was pronounced vacant. Copies of these resolutions being sent to all the powers in Europe, the cardinals, at the desire of the council, proceeded to the election of a new pope; and their choice fell upon Peter de Candia cardinal of Milan, who assumed the name of Alexander V.

Benedict
and Gregory
condemned
as schisma-
tics.

Baronius.

Dispute
about visita-
tion between
archbishop
Arundel and
the univer-
sity of Ox-
ford.

In the succeeding year, Wickliff's opinions were condemned afresh, in full congregation at Oxford, by order of the chancellor. Two hundred conclusions were condemned by the university, and several books committed to the flames. These severities, however, could not hinder Lollardism from gaining

A. C. 1409.

gaining ground in the university, which the archbishop visited with great pomp, accompanied by his nephew the earl of Arundel: he was met at some distance from the city by the members of the colleges, headed by Richard Courtney the chancellor, who told the metropolitan, that they should be proud to entertain his grace, who, he hoped, had no other design than to see the university, as they enjoyed an immunity by a papal bull from all archiepiscopal visitation. Arundel was greatly offended at this address, of which he complained to the king, who reprimanded the university; and an obstinate dispute ensued. At length, both parties referred their cause to the determination of his majesty, who decided in favour of the archbishop. This award being afterwards confirmed by parliament, Arundel sent his delegates to Oxford, in order to enquire into the progress of Lollardism; and the members of the university chose twelve examiners to co-operate in this inquisition. A great number of conclusions were censured; and all those suspected of favouring such opinions were imprisoned or put into the hands of the archbishop, who applied to the pope for a bull to confirm the censures which he approved; and for another, that would empower him to dig up the bones of Wickliff. The first was readily granted; but the other postponed. In the parliament which met on the

A. C. 1412.

third day of November at Westminster, Sir John Tiptoft, speaker of the house of commons, spoke with great warmth against the Lollards, as a very dangerous sect; and the house of lords addressed the king in a remonstrance, importing, that they endeavoured to excite the people to deprive the prelates of their temporal possessions; and published, that Richard late king of England was alive: they therefore petitioned for a statute, ordaining, that any person preaching, publishing, or maintaining any

A. C. 1412. doctrine, whereby the people might be moved to take away the temporal possessions of the prelates, or propagating any report of Richard's being alive, should be arrested, imprisoned, and obliged to find sufficient bail and mainprize, to be taken before the chancellor of England. The king granted the request of the lords; and this was the last act of persecution against the Lollards that passed in the course of this reign.

Walſing.

Trial of Sir
John Old-
castle.

When Henry V. succeeded to the throne, the Lollards expected more indulgence, as this prince seemed to be a latitudinarian in his religious principles, and was particularly connected by the ties of friendship with Sir John Oldcastle, who was their great patron. They were miserably disappointed in this hope; for Henry V. was not only bigotted to the religion in which he had been educated, but resolved to live upon good terms with the clergy, whose assistance he foresaw would be necessary towards the execution of the great scheme he had projected against France. Moved by these considerations, he left them in the full enjoyment of their jurisdiction; and one of the first persons against whom they exerted their authority, was Sir John Oldcastle, who espoused the opinions of Wickliff, which we have already explained. He was summoned to the ecclesiastical court by repeated citations, to which he paid no regard: then he was apprehended, and brought before the archbishop, who declared himself ready to absolve him, if he would recant his errors, and move for absolution. In answer to this insinuation, Sir John pulled a paper from his bosom, and delivered it to the prelate, who having perused the contents, said, his principles were good in the main; but there was a necessity for his explaining himself further on transubstantiation, and auricular confession. The knight refusing to make any other declaration on these

these points, but what was contained in the written A.C. 1413. paper, was committed to the Tower; and next day received some quæries from the archbishop, touching his opinion of the bread and wine in the sacrament of the altar, auricular confession, the power of the pope, pilgrimage, and the worship of relics and images. He was desired to consider these articles, and prepare his answers by the twenty-seventh day of September, when the convocation would sit at Black-Friars. Being brought into this assembly by Sir Robert Morley, lieutenant of the Tower, he behaved with all the indiscretion of a hot-headed enthusiast. When the archbishop admonished him to crave the benediction of the court, he answered, *Maledicam benedictionibus vestris*, Curse on your benedictions. Even after this indecent reply, the archbishop told him, that if he would desire absolution in the common form, he should have it without hesitation. To this intimation he answered, that he would demand no absolution where he had given no offence. So saying, he fell upon his knees, and in an enthusiastic rhapsody, confessed all his sins to God, in the hearing of the whole assembly. Being questioned concerning the eucharist, he professed his belief, that, after consecration, Christ's very body was present in form of bread, the same individual body that was born of the Virgin Mary. Then he was asked, whether or not it was the material bread after consecration? and turning to the archbishop, "I believe (said he) it is Christ's body in form of bread. Sir, believe you not this?" "Yes, marry, do I!" replied the archbishop. The doctors then interposing, desired to know if he thought any part of the bread remained after consecration; and, he replied it is both Christ's body and bread. This was the rock upon which he split; for, notwithstanding his explanation, supported by texts of

4. C. 1415. scripture, they declared the opinion heretical; and, when he challenged them to prove it heresy, they appealed to the determination of holy-church. Sir John, being warmed in his own defence, treated the doctors with contempt; and would not even allow the church to be holy, since she had been infected with the poison of worldly possessions. Doctor Walden, a noted theologist of those times, undertook to confute Oldcastle by argument, and the dispute was inflamed to the most bitter altercation; but very little to the purpose was said on either side: Sir John compared them to Annas and Caiphas, who sat in judgment upon Christ, and afterwards on his apostles. “The bishops of Rome” (said he) “were formerly pious martyrs; but, since they were infected with the poison of worldly possession, they have deposed, poisoned, cursed, and assassinated one another; they have filled the whole earth with cruelty and mischief. Christ was meek and merciful; the pope is proud, tyrannous; Christ was poor and compassionate, the pope is rich, arrogant, and a barbarous man-slayer. Rome is the very nest of Antichrist, from whence come all his disciples: prelates, priests, and monks, are the body, and their shaven friars the tail, which covereth his most filthy part.” Such obloquy could not fail to exasperate the assembly, which being unanimous in finding him guilty, the archbishop pronounced the sentence of condemnation; and, though he made his escape from the Tower, he was afterwards apprehended, and suffered death both as a traitor and heretic, by being hanged and burned at Tyburn.

Rymer.
Walsing.
Elmham.

Council of
Constance
declares the
papacy va-
cant.

Upon the death of Alexander V. Balthasar Cossa was chosen his successor, under the name of John XXIII. and convoked a general council at Constance, with the consent of the emperor Sigismund;

mund; whose aim was not only to abolish the schisms which still continued in the church, but also to root out the heresy of Wickliff, which had by this time made great progress in Bohemia, by the teaching and preaching of John Hufs, and Jerome of Prague. When the council met on the sixteenth day of November, the officers and servants of the assembly were equally elected out of the five nations of which it was composed, namely, English, Italians, French, Spaniards, and Germans. They agreed to range the fathers of the council under these five nations; and that the plurality of voices should determine all matters proposed. On the twenty-eighth day of November, John Hufs arrived at Constance; and, tho' he pleaded the safe-conduct of the emperor, was arrested by order of the pope, who told him he had never granted a safe-conduct, and was not bound by that of the emperor. On the twenty-third day of December the emperor appeared in council, which proceeded to business; and after much debate, it was found absolutely necessary towards the re-establishment of peace and union in the church, that not only the antipopes, Gregory and Benedict, should be divested of all authority, but even John XXIII. should abdicate his papal dignity. This last, conscious of many enormities in his own conduct, for which he dreaded prosecution, seemingly agreed to the proposal. The emperor was so pleased with his compliance, that he took off his crown, and kissed the pope's feet; and all the members of the council promised to support him against his two rivals, should they refuse to follow his example. John's consent was the effect of dissimulation. On pretence of going to Nice, that he and Benedict might make their renunciation together, he wanted to escape from Constance, that he might put an end to the council. Sigismund
suspecting

A. C. 1414. suspecting his design, ordered the avenues of the city to be guarded ; and sent the patriarch of Antioch to John, requiring him to appoint proctors for making the renunciation in his name. The pope declining this proposal, he was presented with the following resolutions of the assembly : That the council had been justly called, and fairly assembled : That even, though deserted by the pope, or any other prelates, it should continue in being and authority, until the schism should be extirpated, and a universal reformation in faith and morals take place, both in the head and members of the church : That the council should not be removed to any other place, nor any prelates or others depart without sufficient reason : That the pope himself should not quit the assembly, but appoint a proctor, to renounce in his name all title to the papal authority. To these articles John replied, that it would be more convenient for himself and the council to remove to Nice, where the king of Arragon and Benedict might confer with the emperor ; and that the appointment of a proctor was unnecessary, as he intended to make the renunciation in his own person. This answer plainly demonstrated the intention of the pope, who, notwithstanding the emperor's precautions, made his escape by the assistance of the duke of Austria, and the elector of Mentz, to Schaffhausen, from whence he sent four cardinals to dissolve the council. This conduct produced the famous decree, importing, that this council representing the catholic church militant, had received immediately from Jesus Christ, a power, which persons of all conditions, even popes themselves, were obliged to obey in every thing concerning the faith, the extirpation of the schism, and reformation of the church. John protested against their proceedings ; and they sent ambassadors, inviting him to return : but, he insisted

insisted upon such high terms, that they altered A. C. 1414.
their strain, and summoned him to appear in nine
days, on pain of being proceeded against as a fu-
gitive and delinquent. The emperor perceiving,
that he depended intirely upon the protection of the
duke of Austria, invaded that dutchy with a nu-
merous army, to the great terror of the duke, who
humbled himself before Sigismund, and purchased
his peace, by making the pope prisoner at Fribourg.
In the mean time, the council condemned the doc-
trines of Wickliff, pronounced him and his me-
mory accursed, and decreed, that his bones should
be dug up and scattered about with infamy. Then
they chose commissioners to manage the process
against the pope, who was accused of having by
simony obtained the dignity of cardinal: of hav-
ing sold ecclesiastical preferments: of having at-
tempted to poison his predecessor: sold indulgences
and relics, alienated the goods and possessions of
churches and monasteries, denied the resurrection,
and a future state: of having led a very dissolute
life, addicted to all manner of vices: of having
neglected the duties of religion: of having de-
bauched nuns, and lived in criminal and incestuous
communication with his own brother's wife. Being
convicted on these articles, the council suspended
him from the exercise of all papal power, spiritual
and temporal; and a deputation of cardinals was
sent to inform him of the sentence. He expressed
the utmost resignation to the decrees of the as-
sembly, and said, he hoped they would have some
regard to the condition of life in which he had
hitherto appeared; at the same time, he wrote a
very humble letter to Sigismund, craving his fa-
vour and protection: but, notwithstanding all his
submission and intreaties, the council proceeded to
the sentence of deposition; and decreed, that neither
of

A. C. 1414. of the three competitors should be mentioned in the ensuing election.

Proceedings
against John
Hufs and
Jerome of
Prague.

The papacy being thus declared vacant, they began the trial of John Hufs the famous Bohemian reformer, who was convicted of heresy, and committed to the flames, in direct violation of the safe-conduct which had been granted to him by Sigismund; a breach of faith that will reflect eternal disgrace on the memory of that emperor. His friend and companion Jerome de Prague met with the same fate; and both behaved with the courage, simplicity, and christian charity of the primitive martyrs. They were accused of having maintained impious, horrible, and damnable opinions. They were condemned as seditious, obstinate, incorrigible disciples and defenders of Wickliff; hardened, crafty, malicious, and convicted heretics. Notwithstanding this heavy charge, John Hufs adopted no part of Wickliff's doctrine, but what concerned the hierarchy of the church, and the manners of the clergy. He believed transubstantiation and the expediency of image-worship: but, he affirmed the hierarchy of the church was not founded in scripture: that the excessive authority of popes, cardinals, and bishops, was mere usurpation: that the clergy in general were corrupted in their manners; and the benefactions to the church shamefully misapplied. The council used all their art to draw him into a doubt or denial of transubstantiation; and as he would not confess any such principle, he was convicted of it on the deposition of evidence. This article was inserted in his sentence merely as a pretext; but every unprejudiced person will perceive and own, that he and his companion were sacrificed to the temporal interest of the clergy. It was not the faith but the authority of the church they thought
in

in danger: the same principle manifested itself in thus condemning the administration of the communion in both species. This they did not condemn as a thing evil in itself; on the contrary, they owned it had been practised in the ancient church. But, they pronounced an anathema against those who asserted, that the church had no right to abolish that practice. With respect to some other strange doctrines which fell under their cognizance, as they did not affect the power of the clergy, the council proceeded upon them with surprising indifference. John Petit, a lawyer in the dominions of the duke of Burgundy, maintained, that each individual had a right to slay a tyrant even by treachery: and this proposition being presented to the council, that assembly, after much solicitation, declared it erroneous, without punishing, or even naming the author. The sect of Flagellators asserted many capital errors, which being discussed by the council, it was resolved to find out some gentle means for bringing them back into the pale of the church. The same coldness they manifested in the work of reformation which was so necessary. A list of abuses indeed was made out, and they agreed upon the model of reformation: but, by the artifice and intrigues of the cardinals and others, the execution of this plan was postponed, and afterwards wholly laid aside. The council now resolved to choose a new pope; and, for this purpose, six prelates were chosen out of each of the five nations, and joined as assessors to the cardinals, in whom the power of electing was formerly vested: it was decreed that no person should be deemed duly elected without having in his favour two thirds of the cardinals and assessors; and that the stadthouse of the city should be prepared as a conclave to be guarded by the emperor and magistrates. They accordingly entered their cells; and, being shut

A. C. 1414. up, elevated to the papal chair Otho de Colonna; cardinal deacon of St. George, a Roman nobleman, who assumed the name of Martin V. John, who had been deposed, was committed to the custody of the bishop of Winchester, from whom he made his escape; and the new pope dissolved the council on the twenty-second day of April, after it had continued sitting for the space of four years.

Martin V.
chosen pope.
Baronius.
Æn. Sylv.
Pogg'us.
Rapin.

A. C. 1418. In the mean time the persecution raged among the Lollards in England, where John Cleyden, a citizen of London, and one Richard Turming, a baker, were burned in Smithfield. The archbishop, in convocation, enacted a constitution, directed to his suffragans, enjoining them to make strict search and enquiry twice a year after the persons suspected of heresy, that they might be proceeded against according to law, and either committed to prison or to the flames, as the nature of their crimes might require. A synod, being convened by the archbishop of Canterbury at London, granted two tenths as a supply for the war in France; and the duke of Bedford notified to the assembly the election of pope Martin V. whose elevation was celebrated with rejoicings, anthems, and other acts of devotion. The assembly then enacted a decree for regulating the graduations at the two universities, which decree met with great opposition at Oxford and Cambridge; though it was at last received by the interposition of Henry V. who was himself a patron of learning. Pope Martin began to encroach upon the liberties of the English church with the same arbitrary power which had been exercised by his predecessors: he disposed of bishoprics by way of provision, and vacated the elections of the chapters. Henry, in order to put a stop to this usurpation, as also to reform a number of abuses which had crept in among the clergy, sent John Ketterick, bishop of Coventry and Litchfield, to demand of the pope

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an exprefs Concordat, to which his holinefs agreed. A. C. 1418.
 In a convocation, held at this period in London, one Richard Walker, a priest of Worcester, was tried and convicted of witchcraft, which he solemnly renounced, and did public penance. Many people were likewise obliged to abjure Lollardism; and the assembly granted a large subsidy to the king, who suppressed the French monasteries in England, and granted their lands to other colleges of the learned. After this king's marriage, a convocation held at London presented the king with a tenth, on condition that his purveyors should not encroach upon the goods of churchmen; and that no clergyman should be imprisoned but for theft and murder.

Goodwin,

Pope Martin having summoned a new council at Pavia, the archbishop of Canterbury held another convocation for the election of delegates, the names of whom were returned to the king, that he might pitch upon those who should represent the English clergy at the ensuing council: a sum of money was likewise voted for the expence of their journey. William White, a priest, was censured for heresy, and recanted; Henry Webb, of Worcester, was stripped and publicly scourged in the cathedrals of St. Paul's, Worcester, and Bath; William Taylor, master of arts, was prosecuted for heresy, recanted, relapsed, and was delivered over to the secular arm. In a subsequent convocation a decree passed for the collation of benefices on the scholars of Oxford and Cambridge, which was confirmed by act of parliament. A. C. 1421. Some canons were enacted for moderating the fees of institutions and inductions; and for publishing and executing the provincial constitution of archbishop Sudbury against the excessive stipends of parochial priests and others. Archbishop Chicheley was famous for a great number of constitutions which he enacted; enjoining the celebration

Constitutions of
archbishop
Chicheley.

A. C. 1421. bration of festivals; regulating the probates of wills by administration; instituting a kind of inquisition against Lollardism; providing against false weights; reviving the constitution of John Peckham, archbishop of Canterbury, who decreed that those cases and articles, in which the sentence of the greater excommunication was incurred, should be publicly declared in every parish church for the information of the people; and augmenting the stipends of vicars, who were allowed to sue for such augmentation in *forma pauperum*.

A. C. 1439.

Luxury of
the Benedictine
monks.

Towards the latter end of the reign of the fifth Henry, the Benedictine monks were become so luxurious and dissolute, that the king insisted upon a reformation; and a provincial Capitulary for that purpose was held in the Chapter-house at Westminster; where it was ordained, That the abbots should employ their attention in the care of souls: That the extravagance of their equipage should be retrenched, so as that none should be attended by above twenty horse, under a severe temporal penalty: That they should never make a gift of the effects of the convent above the value of forty shillings: That they should be uniform in the colour and fashion of their habits: That their necessities should be supplied in kind and not in money: That they should not have distinct private cells for the entertainment of female guests: and, That they should be restricted from going into cities and towns to assist at computations and merry-makings. By writs dated July 10, 1422, the king ordered the two archbishops to assemble their clergy in convocation, that they might grant a subsidy for the support of the French war; but the lower clergy alleged they were not properly empowered by their constituents to grant money: so that the assembly was dissolved without having come to any resolution in the king's favour. During this session, Robert

Hake

Hake and Thomas Drayton, two priests, were ac- A. C. 1439.
 cused of heresy, because they refused to kneel to a
 crucifix, were in possession of books written against the
 doctrine of transubstantiation, and inveighed against
 auricular confession as an invention of the devil.
 Though these allegations could not be proved, they
 were obliged to renounce all these tenets at St. Paul's
 cross; and one Russel, a minorite, was ordered to
 make the same recantation, for having maintained
 that tythes were not claimable by divine right.

Archbishop Chicheley was certainly a great ene- Chicheley
 my to Lollardism; but at the same time it must opposes the
 be owned, he was a bold defender of the church encroach-
 of England against papal encroachments. In his ments of the
 first convocation he moved for annulling papal pope, by
 exemptions; he opposed the great power with which whom he is
 the pope had invested the cardinal bishop of Eng- persecuted.
 land. He presented to the king a full extract of
 the nature, extent, and mischievous consequences
 of the legatine office. As the cardinal was em- Walsing.
 powered to hold the bishopric of Winchester in
 commendam, he remonstrated against the practice,
 as unprecedented in England; he represented that
 the English church needed no such supplemental
 buttresses as the power of legates a latere: that
 this office had been always dangerous to the crown
 of England, even when limited to one year; and
 that the danger must be much greater from the
 cardinal's commission, which was for life. Henry V.
 protected the archbishop against the vengeance of
 the pope, who was incensed against that prelate for
 his opposition to the encroachments of Rome, and
 much more so for his acquiescence in the statute
 of premunire. The king's eyes were no sooner
 closed, than he poured forth his indignation in a
 letter to Chicheley, wherein he accused him of
 having neglected his pastoral care, and minding
 nothing but the means of amassing wealth. He

A. C. 1439. said the archbishop suffered his flock to brouze on poisonous herbs; and that when wolves came to devour them, he stood like a dumb dog without so much as barking. Then he inveighed against the statute of premunire, as an act that repealed the laws of God and the church, and destroyed the antient usages of the kingdom. He complained that Jews, Turks, and Infidels of all sorts, were allowed to land in England; whereas any person commissioned by the holy see, was treated as a common enemy: and he concluded with an order to the archbishop to repair to the council, and use all his interest there and in the parliament for the repeal of this statute; otherwise he should incur the penalty of excommunication. Chicheley sent an apology for his conduct to Rome; notwithstanding which he was again severely reprimanded, and his legatine power suspended. From this sentence he appealed to a future council; or, if that should not sit, to the tribunal of God. Martin wrote monitory letters to all the clergy in England, expatiating upon the illegality of the acts of provisors and premunire. He sent a letter to the two archbishops, annulling all those statutes, and forbidding the metropolitans to act upon the authority of such laws, on pain of excommunication; and at the same time wrote a monitory letter to the people of England, which he charged the archbishop to publish and affix in all public places. The archbishop of York, and the bishops of London, Durham, and Lincoln, wrote to his holiness in favour of Chicheley. Their example was followed by the university of Oxford, which gave testimony greatly to the honour of the archbishop's character, and termed him the golden candlestick of the church of England. These recommendations were accompanied with a submissive letter of the prelate's own writing: but, in spite of all this interposition, Martin remained implacable,

ble, and summoned Chicheley to Rome, as an enemy to the pope in England. His holiness was the more exasperated, as the nuncio, who delivered his letters and bulls, had been imprisoned by the government. This outrage produced letters from the pope to the king, the duke of Bedford, and the parliament, complaining of such barbarous treatment, and exhorting them to concur in repealing the statutes. When the parliament met, the archbishop of Canterbury, attended by him of York, and the bishops of London, St. David's, Ely, Norwich, together with the abbots of Westminster and Reading, repaired to the house of commons; and, in an elaborate speech, advised them to repeal the statutes which had given such offence: but the members supposing this harangue was the effect of compulsion, payed no regard to the remonstrance; but presented an address to the king, desiring his majesty would write to the pope for the purgation of the archbishop. When the crusade against the Bohemians was preached up, and the cardinal of Winchester declared general of that enterprize, the pope ordered that prelate to collect a tenth from the English clergy for the expence of the expedition: but all the convocation would grant was eight-pence in the mark, on condition it should be found consistent with the king's prerogative and the laws of the kingdom. The nuncio, thinking this supply insufficient, ventured to collect money without being properly authorized; and was imprisoned for his presumption.

A council being summoned to meet at Basil, the archbishop of Canterbury held a convocation at London, when delegates were chosen to represent the English church in that assembly, and two-pence in the pound voted for their expence. Thomas bishop of Worcester; William prior of Norwich; Thomas Brown dean of Salisbury; Peter Patrick,

Convocation
of the coun-
cil at Basil.

- A. C. 1439. chancellor of Lincoln; Robert Barton, precentor of Lincoln; John Salisbury, doctor of divinity; and John Simon Desborough, bachelor in common law, were chosen for this purpose, and received instructions to act against all papal dispensations and other abuses which had crept into the church of Rome; especially that of providing livings for unqualified persons. Pope Martin would have avoided convening this council, if it had been in his power, but finding himself strongly pressed by the emperor and other powers in Christendom, he ordered cardinal Julian to open and preside in the assembly.
- A. C. 1441. Since the council of Constance, the Hussites of Bohemia had been treated with such rigour, as served only to confirm them in the belief of their tenets, which they resolved to maintain in spite of the decrees of the council. The principal article on which they insisted, was the communion in both species; and their resolution, in this particular, was opposed by the pope and the catholics in such a manner, as filled Bohemia with civil war and confusion. On the death of their king Wenceslaus, his brother, Sigismund the emperor, claimed the succession; but was rejected by the Hussites, as a persecutor of their sect, and a notorious faith-breaker. Martin V. espousing the cause of Sigismund, and publishing crusades against the Hussites, they found themselves obliged to stand in their own defence, and chose for their general one Zisca, who defeated the emperor in several engagements. This war continued till the meeting of the council at Basil; which, considering the bad success of Sigismund, resolved to make peace with the Hussites. With this view the fathers invited them to send deputies to the council, who, being sent accordingly, presented four articles; to which, should the council agree, they offered to reunite themselves with the church. They demanded, that the communion should be administered

stered in both species to the laity in Bohemia : that sinners should be corrected according to the law of God, by those to whom such correction properly belonged : that the word of God should be preached by well qualified pastors : and, that the clergy should have no jurisdiction over temporalities. The fathers of the council exhausted all their art and eloquence in persuading the Bohemians to submit to the church at discretion ; but, finding them inflexible, resolved to grant their demands, on condition that they should be previously explained, in order to avoid new disputes. They accordingly explained them in their own way, and the Concordat was settled, to the satisfaction of all parties. This affair being accommodated, Sigismund was acknowledged king of Bohemia, after having approved of the Concordat, and subscribed some other conditions : but he had no sooner mounted the throne, than he broke his promise ; and the pope refused to sign the Concordat. The troubles of Bohemia were renewed ; and, being fomented by the court of Rome, continued till the Hussites were entirely ruined.

Though the council of Basil had been convoked by pope Martin V. that pontiff died before the meeting of the assembly, and was succeeded in the papacy by Eugenius IV. who took umbrage at the invitation which had been sent to the Hussites ; alleging, that as they were heretics who had been already condemned in the council of Constance, they deserved no indulgence ; and on that pretence he published a bull to dissolve the council. The fathers, far from submitting to this mandate, resolved by a majority to continue the sessions : and this dispute produced a real schism ; some acknowledging the authority of the council, and others adhering to the pope. Several decrees were made to exalt the authority of the council above that of

Difference
between the
council and
pope Eugene-
nius.

A. C. 1441. the pope; and these, as fast as they were enacted, did his holiness cancel and annul; affirming that the members could not act without the direction of the head. As the emperor, the king of France, and almost all the other princes of Europe, declared for the council, Eugenius was fain to conform, and allow it to proceed: but, when he sent other legates to preside in his name, they refused to receive them in that quality; and this refusal was a new cause of dissension. The pope threatened again to dissolve the council, and this last menaced his holiness with a sentence of suspension; at length, however, Eugenius, finding himself unequal to the contest, dropped all opposition, and confirmed the council. These advances of the pope were deemed satisfactory by the council, which admitted his legates; but the emperor Sigismund dying, and the Greeks declaring for Eugenius, he retracted his condescension, and translated the council to Ferrara. The fathers at Basil, exasperated at this step, filled all Europe with remonstrances touching the pope's perfidy: they protested against the assembly at Ferrara, summoned all the prelates to repair to Basil in thirty days, and denounced excommunication against all those who should obstruct their coming. The council was supported by the Germans, Spaniards, and the majority of the Italians. Charles VII. of France convoked an assembly of his prelates, in which it was resolved that France should own the authority of the council at Basil; but, at the same time, yield obedience to pope Eugenius: the English, however, favoured Eugenius, because the council had refused to ratify the treaty of Troyes, by which Charles VII. was excluded from the succession; and king Henry promised to send delegates to the council of Ferrara. Cardinal Julian, the president of the council, and all the other cardinals, except one, abandoned Basil, and carried along
with

with them a good number of bishops to the pope's council, which acquired still more reputation and authority from the arrival of the Greek emperor with a numerous train of his prelates at Ferrara; from which place, in the succeeding year, Eugenius translated the council to Florence, where it formed a sort of union between the Greek and Latin churches, though this was of very short duration.

In the midst of these transactions, Chicheley archbishop of Canterbury dying, was succeeded by John Strafford, son of the earl of Strafford bishop of Bath and Wells, and lord high treasurer of England. Soon after his elevation to the metropolitan see, the clergy, in convocation, complained that the act of premunire was, by the chicanery of the common lawyers, turned into an engine of oppression, which subjected them to vexatious suits: they therefore moved that either application might be made to parliament for repealing the statutes of provisor and premunire, or for settling the true sense and meaning, so as that the clergy might not suffer by the arts of quibbling lawyers. But these were deemed, by the majority, points of too delicate a nature for them to discuss, and the motion was laid aside. This grievance, however, becoming more and more intolerable, the bishops afterwards took it into consideration; and, after various debates, both houses of the convocation resolved to address his majesty, and petition that the clause "Or Elsewhere" in the statute of premunire should be expunged. It was enacted in the statute, 'That if any purchase, or pursue, or cause to be purchased or pursued, in the church of Rome, "Or Elsewhere," any such translations, processes, sentences of excommunication, bulls, instruments, or any thing affecting the king's rights, &c.' And common lawyers, disposed to harass the clergy, used to put such construction upon the words "Or

The convocation in England petitions the king against the statute of Premunire.

A. C. 1441. "Elsewhere," as brought them within the statute, even when they prosecuted any matter of ecclesiastical right before the ecclesiastical courts within the kingdom. They therefore observed that those words, "Or Elsewhere," referred only to the place in which the pope might chance to preside; and prayed that some remedy might be applied to this evil: but the times were too unsettled for them to expect immediate satisfaction.

The duke of Savoy chosen pope by the council at Basil.

During these efforts of the clergy in England, the council of Basil continued to proceed against pope Eugenius, whom they at length deposed, and chose in his room Amadeus, duke of Savoy, who had resigned the administration of his dominions, and retired to a life of solitude at Ripale. This new pontiff assumed the name of Felix V. and now a double schism was formed in the church between two general councils and two popes, who condemned and excommunicated one another, and all their adherents mutually. In order to terminate this scandalous contention, an assembly was held in Germany by the princes and prelates of the empire; who could find no other expedient for that purpose than the convocation of a new council, till the meeting of which they should remain neuter. This proposal was confirmed by the diet of Frankfort; and the council of Basil assented to it, though with reluctance. Mean while pope Felix, being discontented at the proceedings of the fathers at Basil, who he thought acted with too high a hand, retired to Lausanne, on pretence that the air of this place was more healthy than that of Basil; and Eugenius translated his council from Florence to Rome, where the session was held in the church of St. John of Lateran.

A. C. 1442.

At length, the German princes, assembling at Frankfort, unanimously resolved that if Eugenius should refuse to give them satisfaction with respect
to

to certain grievances of which they complained, they would acknowledge the election and authority of Felix. Eugenius scrupled at first to comply with their demands; but the emperor, giving him to understand that he would infallibly lose all Germany by his noncompliance, he condescended to grant all that the Germans desired; and a Concordat was ratified accordingly. This was a terrible stroke to the council of Basil, which had been already disowned by Italy, Arragon, and several other countries, besides France and England: tho' it conceived fresh hopes from the death of its antagonist Eugenius, who was succeeded by Nicholas V. Nevertheless, it gained very little advantage from this alteration: on the contrary, its authority diminished every day; and Felix retained but a very small number of partisans. The king of France assembling an ecclesiastical council at Lyons; to deliberate upon measures for terminating the schism, Felix sent thither his legates, and consented to resign the pontificate upon certain conditions. This affair was the subject of a negotiation with Nicholas, who having granted almost all the demands of his competitor, Felix resigned his dignity with the approbation of his council, which had by this time removed to Lausanne, where, in its last decree, it approved the cession of Felix, created him cardinal and legate a latere in Savoy and the Tarentaise; and allowed him to wear for life the pontifical habit. Nicholas confirmed this decree according to agreement; and thus ended the dispute which had produced a complication of three schisms; first between Eugenius and the council of Basil, then between the two general councils, and lastly between the two popes.

The zeal of the English clergy, in supporting the pope against the council, encouraged Nicholas to renew the papal encroachments in England. He sent

A. C. 1442.
The schism
terminated
by an ac-
commoda-
tion.

Trithemius
Aventinus
Mutius.

A. C. 1452.

Resolution
of the Eng-
lish clergy
against the
pope's en-
croach-
ments,

sent a pompous epistle to the king, together with a consecrated rose; and at the same time demanded a tenth on the clergy. He was, however, disappointed in his hope. His request was denied; and the archbishop of Canterbury prohibited from executing the pope's bull, or suffering any money to be collected. In a subsequent convocation held at London, the pope's agent solicited a supply. He expatiated upon the narrow escape of his holiness from the wicked attempt of Stephen Porchard, inveighed against the degeneracy of the Roman people; and declared, that if the English would grant a proper supply, the pope would immediately quit Rome and Italy, and reside in some place near England. All that the English clergy would grant, in consequence of this remonstrance, was a form of prayer for the personal safety of his holiness. It was about this period that Strafford archbishop of Canterbury died, and had for his successor John Kemp cardinal archbishop of York, who had been dean of the arches, vicar-general to archbishop Chicheley, and governor of Normandy: then he was created bishop of Rochester, from whence he was translated to Chichester, and afterwards to London and York. This prelate dying within the year after his elevation, the vacant see was filled by Thomas Bourchier brother to the earl of Essex, and cardinal bishop of Ely, who made a visitation into Kent, and composed a set of articles of reformation for his province.

Account of
Peacock bi-
shop of
Chichester.

But the most remarkable churchman that lived at this period, was Peacock bishop of Chichester, a person of great learning and reputation, who publicly asserted, that the Latin fathers St. Jerome, St. Ambrose, St. Augustine, and St. Gregory, ought to have no greater authority than the strength of their reasoning, and the merit of their doctrine, acquired; that matters of faith could be judged by reason alone, to which he likewise referred all con-

troverſy;

troverſy ; that the apoſtles were not the authors of the creed which they were ſuppoſed to have framed ; that the meaning of the Holy Scriptures was to be learned from natural reaſon only ; that Chriſt never deſcended into hell ; and that chriſtians were not obliged to obſerve the canons, any further than they ſhould appear agreeable to reaſon and common ſenſe. He inveighed againſt the oſtentation and magnificence of churchmen ; he reproached them for their neglect of parochial duties : he ſaid they themſelves might fit as originals of the deformities they laſhed ; and that they recommended thoſe qualifications of which they found themſelves deſtitute. His ſatire againſt the pride and luxury of the prelates inflamed the populace to ſuch a degree, that they raiſed violent commotions in different parts of the kingdom. The biſhops of Chicheſter and Salisbury were murdered, and their houſes pillaged ; thoſe of Litchfield and Norwich were expelled from their habitations ; and ſeveral other eccleſiaſtics loſt their lives. Peacock was patroniſed by the duke of Suffolk, at whoſe death the biſhop's books were examined in a ſynod at Lambeth, and he himſelf obliged to recant great part of his doctrine. Then he was ſent to do penance at Canterbury, where he began again to broach the ſame tenets, declaring publicly, that the teſt of the Scriptures was reaſon ; that the practice of purchaſing preferments from the pope was unwarrantable ; that no perſon was bound to obey the determination of the Roman church ; that the belief of Chriſt's preſence in the Eucharift was not neceſſary to ſalvation ; and, that the church may err in points of faith. His relapſe was no ſooner known, than he was brought from Canterbury to London, that he might undergo a trial, which he prevented by a ſecond recantation. By this ſubmiſſion he ſaved his life ; but he loſt his ſee, and died in obſcurity at Maidſtone.

A. C. 1452.

Bayle,

Goodwin,

Edward

A. C. 1452.

The pope
erects the
sees of St.
Andrew's
and Glasgow
into bishop-
rics.

Edward IV. found the friendship of the clergy so necessary, that he granted a charter, exempting them from the jurisdiction of the civil power in criminal causes, remitting all such to the judgment of their ordinaries. These favours, while they served to establish Edward's throne, at the same time excited the pride of the clergy and the envy of the lay subjects, which co-operated in paving the way for the reformation. In this reign pope Sixtus IV. at the solicitation of Graham, elect bishop of St. Andrew's, erected that see and Glasgow into archbishoprics independent of the diocese of York, which claimed a jurisdiction over the church of Scotland. But, in order to atone for having thus dismembered the ecclesiastical dominion of the English church, he issued several bulls to screen the clergy from the encroachments of the laity, as well as for confirming, renewing, and increasing the privileges of the university of Oxford.

A brief ac-
count of re-
markable
persons.

The most remarkable persons that flourished in England during this period, of which we have sketched the ecclesiastical history, were generally ecclesiastics who had made some progress in divinity and the sciences, though they were only learned in respect to the times in which they lived: not but that some few laymen also distinguished themselves by their genius and learning. Geoffrey Chaucer, a man of a good family, was caressed for his talent in poetry by Edward III. who allowed him a pitcher of wine every day from his cellar. Richard II. fixed this perquisite at one hogsheaf of wine a year, and twenty pounds out of the exchequer; and Henry IV. indulged him with the same allowance, which is said to have been the origin of that pension which is still payed to the poet laureat. Chaucer possessed an admirable fund of humour; painted the manners of life with great strength of colouring; and helped to improve and purify

purify the English language. His friend John^{A. C. 1452.} Gower was likewise a celebrated poet and historian; and wrote with reputation in the English, French, and Latin languages. Among the other persons of that age noted for learning, the principal were, Stephen Packington, a Carmelite friar, created bishop of St. David's by Henry V. He wrote against the Wickliffites, translated Æsop's Fables, and composed divers tracts on the divinity of the times. John Purvey, master of arts at Oxford, pupil and defendant of Wickliff. William Holmes, a physician, who wrote a work in Latin upon simple medicines. Thomas Rodbourn was a celebrated mathematician and divine, chancellor of the university of Oxford, president of Merton college, archdeacon of Sudbury, and bishop of St. David's. He wrote a chronicle, said to be preserved in Bennet's college in Cambridge, together with a volume of miscellanies. Alleyn de Lynn, a Carmelite friar and prior of the convent, who made indexes for fifty different authors, and turned the historical part of the Bible into allegories. John Seguard, a Latin poet, who wrote satires against the priests, under the patronage and protection of Richard Courtney the brave and martial bishop of Norwith. John Walter, skilled in natural philosophy and mathematics. Robert Roos, prior of the Carmelites at Norwich, a subtle reasoner and learned divine. John Luck of Merton college in Oxford, deep read in divinity. Richard Caistre, surnamed the Good, a man of equal piety and learning. Richard Snettisham, chancellor of Oxford, an excellent disputant and expounder of the scriptures. John Beston, prior of a convent of Carmelites at Lynn, counted the greatest orator of the age, was famous for his knowledge in philosophy and divinity, and appointed one of the delegates to the council of Sienna, which, though called by

Bayle.

A. C. 1452. Martin V. was never assembled. Leland, a noted
 Moreri, grammarian, who taught with uncommon applause
 in the university of Oxford. John Bate, prior of the
 Carmelites at York, a great master in the Greek
 language, and author of several treatises on religion.
 Richard Ullerstone, fellow of Queen's College in
 Oxford, doctor in divinity, and canon of York,
 was a zealous persecutor of those who adopted
 Wickliff's doctrine. He published a book upon
 the articles of faith of the Roman catholic Church;
 and composed a performance in Latin, upon the
 reformation of the clergy. Peter Clark, master of
 arts in the university of Oxford, was a follower of
 Wickliff, and disputed about the controverted
 points with Thomas Walden. He was very zealous
 in the cause of Lollardism; and being obliged
 to quit his native country, retired to Bohemia,
 where he was apprehended by order of the emperor.
 Thomas Walden distinguished himself above all
 his cotemporaries, in refuting the doctrines of
 Wickliff. Henry IV. sent him to the council at
 Pisa, where he signalized his zeal and talents against
 the schism of the two antipopes. He was made
 Goodwin. provincial prior of the Carmelites. Henry V.
 chose him for his confessor, and sent him to the
 council of Constance, as the best qualified of any
 man in England to dispute against the Hussites.
 He was afterwards employed in mediating a dif-
 ference between the king of Poland and the grand
 master of the Teutonic order. He converted Wil-
 told duke of Lithuania to the christian religion;
 and was in the bed-chamber when Henry V. ex-
 pired. Richard Fleming was at first a favourer of
 Wickliff's doctrine; but afterwards became a vio-
 lent persecutor of the Lollards, and was appointed
 one of the twelve censors of their tenets. He
 founded Lincoln College as a seminary for Anti-
 wickliffites; he was appointed bishop of Lincoln,
 and

and afterwards nominated to the see of York : tho' A. C. 1452.
 this nomination was set aside. In the council of Bayle:
 Sienna he defended the honour of the English na-
 tion above all others. William Lyndwood was
 first of Cambridge, and afterwards took his doctor's
 degree in the university of Oxford. He was deeply
 skilled in the canon law, and a most consummate
 statesman. Henry V. made him keeper of the
 privy seal, and employed him in several important
 negotiations. Henry VI. sent him to the council
 of Basil, after which he was created bishop of St.
 David's. He composed a book, intituled, *Constitu-
 tiones Angliæ*, in which we find the provincial
 decrees of forty archbishops, digested into order,
 and explained by large and learned annotations.
 William Caxton, citizen and mercer of London, a
 man of some ingenuity, being sent by Edward IV.
 as envoy to the duke of Burgundy, introduced the
 art of printing into England, and set up a press at
 Westminster. The monasteries soon purchased the A. C. 1474
 invention ; and in a few years it was exercised at
 Oxford, Cambridge, St. Alban's, and other places.

THE

THE
H I S T O R Y
O F
E N G L A N D.
B O O K F I F T H.

From the Union of the Two Roses in the Per-
son of HENRY VII. to the Union of the
Two Crowns.



H E N R Y VII.

A. C. 1485.
Henry VII.
makes his
entry into
London.

HENRY Tudor earl of Richmond having obtained the victory at Bosworth, ordered Te Deum to be sung on the field of battle; and was saluted as king of England by his whole army. When he first undertook this enterprize, he thought it necessary to strengthen his claim by a matrimonial union with the house of York. And now he acquired an additional title from conquest: but as he knew this last would not be admitted by the English, and could not bear the thought of reigning in right of his wife, descended from a family to which he had an unconquerable aversion, he



HENRY VII.



he resolved to assume the sovereignty as heir of the house of Lancaster; and in the mean time to take such precautions as would prevent any rivalry. With this view, he sent Sir Robert Willoughby with a detachment of horse, to remove the earl of Warwick to the Tower, from the castle of Sheriff-Hutton in Yorkshire, in which he had been confined by Richard. As this nobleman, the son of the duke of Clarence, was the only male branch of the house of York, supposed to be then living, Henry ordered him to be strictly guarded in the Tower, and kept from all communication, until the unfortunate prince fell by the hands of the common executioner. The princess Elizabeth had been likewise detained as a prisoner at large by the late king, in the castle of Sheriff-Hutton; and now she received a message from Henry, desiring she would repair to London, and live with her mother, until the celebration of their nuptials, which, however, he intended to postpone, until his own title should be recognized by parliament. He himself took the same route, and chose to enter the city on a Saturday, because he had obtained the victory at Bosworth on that day of the week, which he ever after accounted propitious to his fortune. The mayor and companies of London received him at Shoreditch, from whence he made his public entry, amidst the acclamations of the people, who looked upon him as their deliverer, and the person in whose union with Elizabeth, all the animosity between the two Roses would be extinguished. Nevertheless, the populace were a little dissatisfied at his passing through the city in a close chariot, so as that he could not be seen like their former kings, who had always entered the city on horseback. He proceeded directly to St. Paul's church, where he offered up the standards he had

A. C. 1485. won; and Te Deum being again celebrated, he repaired to his lodging at the bishop's palace.

In a few days after his arrival at London, he assembled a council of all the nobility and persons of distinction who happened to be at his court, or in the neighbourhood; and solemnly renewed the oath he had formerly taken to wed the princess Elizabeth. He found this step absolutely necessary, to destroy a report that he was actually engaged to marry Anne daughter and heir of the duke of Brittany. He had always intended to fulfil his first obligation; but his intention was to defer his marriage until he should have received the crown, lest he should be supposed to strengthen his right by that union with the house of York. In the month of September, the city of London and some parts of the kingdom were afflicted with a new distemper called the sweating sickness, a kind of malignant fever, which made great havoc, and of which the patient commonly died in four and twenty hours. This malady, however, did not rage long; and even before it disappeared, the method of cure was pretty well ascertained. Among the first acts of Henry's sovereignty, he bestowed the government of the Tower upon the earl of Oxford, who had been always a zealous partisan for the house of Lancaster. Then he published a proclamation, specifying that he had concluded one year's truce with the king of France: a circumstance that operated to his advantage in England, which was the better disposed to obey his government, on account of his title's being acknowledged by such a prince as Charles, even before it was recognized by his own parliament. His next step was to recompence those to whom he lay under the greatest obligations. His uncle Jasper earl of Pembroke, who had acted the part of a father to him in his youth, and more than once delivered

Bacon.

The sweating sickness.

Rymer.
Promotions.

him from the snares of his enemies, was created A. C. 1485. duke of Bedford. The earldom of Derby was conferred upon Thomas lord Stanley his own father-in-law, to whom he owed the victory at Bosworth; and, Edward Courtney was honoured with the title of earl of Devonshire.

The ceremony of the coronation was performed on the thirtieth day of October, by cardinal Bourchier archbishop of Canterbury; and that same day Henry instituted a body-guard of fifty archers, called yeomen, under the command of a captain, to be in continual attendance on his person; which band has been kept up by all his successors. On the seventh day of November, the parliament meeting at Westminster, intailed the crown upon Henry, not by way of recognition or ordinance, but in the manner of settlement; enacting, That the inheritance of the crown should rest, remain, and abide, in him and the heirs of his body; and this statute was afterwards confirmed by the pope's bull, in which, however, his titles of descent and conquest were recited. The act of settlement and succession being passed, a difficulty arose about the reversal of the sentences of attainder, which had been denounced against Henry's adherents. A good number of these were actually returned to serve in this parliament; and some members observed, that they could not with any justice sit as judges in their own cause. The king referred this point to the decision of the judges, who were unanimously of opinion, that the members in question should absent themselves from the parliament, until their attainder should be annulled by a new statute. Another debate ensued, touching the king himself, who had been declared traitor and rebel by an authentic act of parliament. This was a more knotty point than the former; because he could not detach himself from parliament without its being

Coronation,
act of settle-
ment, at-
tainders,
and confir-
mations.

A. C. 1485. dissolved : nor was he at all disposed to submit to a parliamentary inquiry. On this occasion the judges declared, that the possession of the throne takes away all defects, and clears the possessor from all sentence, crime, or attainder. These affairs being discussed, the parliament proceeded to pass a bill of attainder against the late king, under the name of Richard duke of Gloucester, as well as against the duke of Norfolk, the earl of Surrey, lord Lovel, lord Ferrers, lord Zouch, Richard Ratcliffe, William Catesby, and several other adherents of Richard. Thus, he at once gratified his revenge and his avarice ; for, the confiscations produced such large sums, that he could not with any decency ask a subsidy from parliament. When he had in this manner taken vengeance on his enemies, and filled his coffers, he published a general amnesty in favour of all those who had taken up arms against him, provided they should make their submission within a limited time ; and immediately a great number quitted sanctuary, and took the oath of allegiance. Before the parliament broke up, the lord of Chandos, a native of Brittany, was created earl of Bath, Sir Giles D'Aubeny was promoted to the title of a baron, and Sir Robert Willoughby was made lord Brooke : at the same time, the king restored to Edward Strafford the title of duke of Buckingham, which he had lost by the attainder of his father ; and re-established him in possession of the family-estate, which had been confiscated in the last reign.

3405.

The session being finished about the latter end of November, Henry sent into France Oliver King archdeacon of Oxford, with money to reimburse king Charles, for the sums he had lent towards equipping the armament which had conveyed the earl of Richmond into England ; so that the marquis of Dorset and Sir John Bourchier, who remained

mained as hostages, were set at liberty. Oliver A. C. 1485. was likewise vested with power to prolong the truce between the two kingdoms, should he find Charles inclined to this expedient. In order to discharge the obligation of the loan, Henry attempted to borrow six thousand marks of the city of London; but, it was with great difficulty that they consented to lend him two thousand pounds, which he thankfully received, and punctually repayed. About this period John Morton and Richard Fox, bishops of Ely and Exeter, were admitted into the privy council. The bishops of Ely and Exeter made privy counsellors. The former was, after the death of archbishop Bouchier, promoted to the see of Canterbury; while Fox was made keeper of the privy seal, and afterwards advanced through the sees of Bath and Durham, to the bishopric of Winchester. These two prelates, and one Ursewick the king's chaplain, were always employed in the most important commissions, embassies, and negotiations. The king chose ecclesiastics for his ministers, not only because they were generally better qualified than the laity, but also because it was in his power to recompence their services with church benefices, which saved him the expence of gratifying them from his own private finances: and this was a very powerful consideration with a prince whose predominant passion was avarice.

Although Henry hated the house of York in his heart, he found it necessary to fulfil the promise he had made to marry the princess Elizabeth; and the nuptials were solemnized on the eighteenth day of January, to the inexpressible joy of the nation. The demonstrations of popular satisfaction which appeared on this occasion, were extremely mortifying to the king, who considered them as so many marks of affection to the house of York, for which he had conceived such aversion, that his queen was always treated by him with the utmost

A. C. 1486.
Henry marries the princess Elizabeth.

A. C. 1486. coldness and indifference. He never let slip an opportunity to humble the partisans of that house, towards whom he ever acted rather as the chief of a party, than as an equitable sovereign. The solemnization of the king's nuptials was the more agreeable to the people, as it was immediately preceded by the tidings of a truce concluded for three years with Charles of France, who had formed a project against Brittany, and willingly listened to the proposal of a truce, which would hinder the king of England from supporting that duchy. Henry, on the other hand, being ignorant of his designs, thought the friendship of such a monarch would render him the more formidable to his domestic enemies.

Rymer.

Rebellion
raised by
the lord Lo-
vel and the
two Straffords.

After his marriage he made a progress into the northern counties, which had been in a particular manner attached to the person of Richard; and passed his Easter holidays at Lincoln, hoping that his presence, and some acts of favour, would entirely dispel any discontent that might prevail in that country. While he resided in this city, he received intimation, that the lord Lovel, with Humphrey and Thomas Stafford, had privately withdrawn from the sanctuary at Colchester. But, he paid very little regard to this intelligence, and proceeded to York, where he understood that Lovel was on his march towards that place, at the head of three or four thousand men; and, that the two Staffords had invested the city of Worcester. Henry was the more alarmed at this information, as he found himself in the midst of the malcontents, with whom he supposed the rebels carried on a correspondence. Nevertheless, he concealed his fears and suspicion, and immediately issued commissions for levying troops in the neighbourhood of York, where his officers met with such success, that in a little time, they raised a body of three
thousand

thousand men; the command of which was given to the king's uncle the duke of Bedford. This nobleman was sent against the rebels, with express orders to avoid a battle, as the men were raw, undisciplined, and but indifferently affected to the cause; but he was instructed to approach them with a good countenance, and publish a pardon in the king's name, to all those who should lay down their arms and submit. This expedient succeeded to the king's wish. The pardon was no sooner proclaimed, than lord Lovel, in apprehension of being abandoned by his troops, retired alone into Lancashire, where he lay for some time concealed in the house of his friend Sir Thomas Broughton; and then crossing the sea, repaired to the court of the dutchess dowager of Burgundy. The two Straffords no sooner heard of this transaction than they raised the siege of Worcester; and being forsaken by their followers, retired to the church of Colnham, where they took sanctuary. The court of King's-Bench declaring, that the privilege of this place did not extend to traitors, they were taken thence by force: the elder brother Humphrey was executed at Tyburn, and the younger pardoned, in consideration of his youth, and of his having been seduced by the other.

Hist. Croy-land. Cont.

On the third day of July, a truce for three years was concluded with James king of Scotland; and, in the course of the same month, John le Bouteiller lord of Maupertuis, ambassador from Francis II. duke of Bretagne, prolonged, in his master's name, the truce between England and that country, until the death of one of the contracting princes; but, it was stipulated, that the treaty of commerce between the two nations should continue to the death of the last liver. On the twentieth day of September, the queen was in the eighth month of her pregnancy, delivered of a son, who was baptized by

Birth of prince Arthur.

A.C. 1486 the name of Arthur, in memory of the famous British Arthur, from whence the king affected to derive his origin. The people hoped, that the birth of this prince would warm the king's indifference into a real affection for the mother; but, when they perceived it had no such effect; that he delayed her coronation; took all opportunities of depressing the friends of the house of York, which was generally beloved throughout the whole kingdom; that his disposition was sordid and illiberal; and, that his temper was fullen and reserved, they began to look upon him with detestation, and even to think they had made a bad exchange for the tyrant Richard. His enemies took this opportunity to insinuate, that he intended to murder the earl of Warwick in the Tower; and the emissaries of the house of York whispered about, that the duke of York had made his escape from the cruelty of his uncle, and was still alive on the continent.

Lambert
Simmel per-
sonates the
earl of
Warwick.

The universal joy expressed by the English people at this report, encouraged Richard Simon, a priest of Oxford, to devise a scheme which was equally extravagant and enterprising. He had a pupil called Lambert Simmel, the illegitimate son of a joiner, a youth of uncommon vivacity and extraordinary personal accomplishments; and, him he resolved to pass upon the world as Richard duke of York, the second son of the fourth Edward. While he was employed in preparing this actor for the stage, it was rumored, that Edward Plantagenet earl of Warwick had escaped from the Tower; and Simon immediately changing his plan, determined that his pupil should personate this nobleman; a scheme much more extravagant than the other, if we consider, that the son of Clarence had been, after his father's death, honourably maintained in the court of his uncle Edward, until he was ten years of age; and that therefore, his person was well known to a

great

great number of people. Notwithstanding this obstacle, Simon continued to instruct his pupil in his new part; and when he thought the imposture ripe, he conveyed him to Ireland, where he knew he should not run such a risque of detection as in England. There he hoped the young man would be powerfully supported, as that kingdom revered the memory of Clarence, who had been their governor; and as Henry had not yet superseded the public officers who had been appointed by Richard. For, though the duke of Bedford had been declared viceroy of Ireland, he still continued in England: Thomas Fitzgerald earl of Kildare governed as his deputy, and his brother possessed the post of chancellor in that kingdom. As they were both partisans of the house of York, in all probability, they had by their emissaries privately concerted this scheme with Simon, who was likewise supposed to have been encouraged by the queen dowager, who deeply resented Henry's behaviour to her daughter. The king had been informed, that something was brewing in Ireland to the prejudice of his government, and ordered the earl of Kildare to appear at his court in London: but, that nobleman had such interest in the council, that they wrote a letter to Henry, representing the earl's presence as absolutely necessary in Ireland; and he was excused in consequence of this remonstrance.

When Simnel arrived at Dublin, he forthwith addressed himself to the earl, in quality of earl of Warwick, recounting the manner in which he pretended to have escaped from the Tower; and tho' the deputy-lieutenant and his brother did not openly espouse his cause at his first landing, their omitting to apprehend such a pretender, plainly indicates their connivance at the imposture. They waited to see the effects of the deceit among the common people, who received Simnel with transports

Simnel is
crowned in
Dublin.

A. C. 1486. sports of joy, as the son of their beloved Clarence. Then the earl of Kildare, and his brother the chancellor, having conferred with their friends and confidants, waited upon Simnel at his lodgings; from whence he was conducted with great solemnity to the castle, where he was treated as a prince, and behaved with such dignity of deportment, as overcame the suspicion of many people, who at first doubted the truth of his pretensions. The popular stream was so much in his favour, that in a few days he was proclaimed king of England, and lord of Ireland, under the name of Edward VI. and not a sword was drawn, nor one mouth opened in behalf of Henry.

Such an event could not but be alarming to the king, who now saw himself attacked in his weakest part, namely, his title, and in a country wholly devoted to his adversaries, which he could not pretend to subdue without a very considerable expence: besides, he apprehended, that the fire which had broke out in Ireland would soon communicate to the other kingdom, by means of secret correspondence, the nature and manner of which he did not know. Perplexed by these considerations, he convened his privy council, in order to deliberate upon the measures to be taken in such an emergency; and here, in all probability, he signified his suspicion of his mother-in-law the queen dowager; for she was immediately confined in the monastery of Bermondsey; and deprived of her whole estate, without any form of process. The whole nation exclaimed against this act of severity, which he in vain endeavoured to palliate, by giving out that this punishment was inflicted upon her for having delivered her daughters into the hands of Richard: a pretence which served only to inflame the resentment of the people, who thought it very strange, that the queen should

The queen dowager is confined and her estate confiscated.

should be so severely punished for that which was rather maternal weakness than any premeditated crime. Besides, they could not comprehend the meaning of Henry's having so long delayed to take cognizance of this affair: they thought his marrying the daughter was an acknowledgment of the mother's innocence, or at least, a tacit forgiveness of the fault. They considered that she had been one of the chief instruments of his elevation to the throne, and therefore could not help detesting his ingratitude; and, in this rigorous treatment, they perceived a formed design to seize all opportunities of completing the ruin of the house of York, and its adherents. There was some mystery in this confinement of the queen-mother, which never was explained to the public. As all historians agree that she was certainly concerned in the affair of Simnel, the king, in all probability, could have convicted her in a legal manner of the conspiracy; or at least fixed upon her such strong suspicion, as would have given a plausible colour to the steps he took for securing her person. But, such a process would have introduced an inquiry, which he seemed to avoid. Perhaps, it would have appeared, that the queen-mother had not complied with Richard's desire in sending her daughters to court, until he had taken some extraordinary step to quiet her fears. Perhaps, that satisfaction consisted in his conniving at the escape of his surviving nephew from the Tower. By means of this conjecture we can account for the queen's confidence in the tyrant, who had brought her kindred to the scaffold, as well as for Henry's behaviour at this juncture, when, perhaps, she played off the phantom Simnel, in order to sound the inclination of the people, and pave the way for exhibiting her own son upon the stage. This supposition likewise explains the case of Perkin Warbeck,

A. C. 1486. beck, and the inflexibility of Henry, who could never be prevailed upon to release his mother-in-law, though the whole nation clamoured at her imprisonment, which continued for some years, until death set her at liberty.

The earl of
Lincoln and
lord Lovel
declare for
Simnel.

Warr.

The queen being secured in the monastery of Bermondsey, Henry, in order to undeceive the populace, who began to believe that the earl of Warwick was actually in Ireland, ordered that young prince to be conducted publicly through the streets of London, from the Tower to St. Paul's church, whither the people went in vast crouds to behold him; and he was permitted to converse with several individuals, who were well acquainted with his person, and well affected to his family. After this procession, he was sent back to the Tower; but, the Irish retorted the imposture upon Henry, affirming, that the youth whom he had produced was a counterfeit; and that Simnel was the true earl of Warwick. The king fearing the contagion would spread into England, published a general amnesty for those who should quit the party of the rebels, with promise of reward to such as should come and discover the particulars of the conspiracy. At the same time, he ordered the coasts to be guarded, to cut off all correspondence between the malcontents of the two kingdoms. Notwithstanding all his precautions, the pretender acquired some powerful friends in England; or rather, the priest who tutored Simnel, had been encouraged by persons of the first quality, to produce this impostor, whom he would have hardly presumed to exhibit without some promise of considerable support. He no sooner made his appearance in Ireland, than John earl of Lincoln, whom his uncle Richard III. had declared presumptive heir of the crown, openly espoused his cause, and embarked for Flanders in order to concert with his aunt Margaret dutchess dowager of Burgundy,

Burgundy, the proper measures for insuring success to the enterprize. That princess being incensed at Henry's behaviour to her niece, and the virulence with which he persecuted all the partisans of the house of York, readily engaged in the scheme of Simnel, which in all probability had been projected with her privity and concurrence; and after having deliberated with Lincoln and Lovel, promised to furnish two thousand veteran German troops, commanded by Martin Swart, an officer of reputation, which should accompany them to Ireland, and join the new king's party. They accordingly set sail in the beginning of May; and arrived in safety at Dublin, where Simnel was crowned with great solemnity in the cathedral, by the bishops of Armagh, Dublin, Meath, and Derry, in presence of the earl of Kildare, the chancellor, and all the other officers of state belonging to that kingdom. This ceremony being performed with a crown taken from the statue of the Virgin Mary, the new king assembled a kind of parliament, in which the clergy granted a subsidy to the pope, in hope of rendering his holiness propitious to their undertaking. Then a council was held, to regulate the measures to be next pursued; and after some debate, they agreed, that the seat of the war should be transferred to England, where they expected to be joined by all the favourers of the house of York, so as to be able to depose the usurper without the least difficulty.

A. C. 1486.

Rymers

In the mean time, Henry was employed in making preparations to defend himself against the impending storm. He was no sooner informed of Lincoln's retreat to Flanders, than he took it for granted that the dutchess of Burgundy was concerned in the conspiracy; and was the more alarmed as he knew the enterprizing disposition of that princess, whose hatred he had incurred. He forth-

with

A. C. 1487.

The mar-
quis of Dor-
set is com-
mitted pri-
soner to the
Tower.

with levied two armies, the command of which he bestowed upon the duke of Bedford and the earl of Oxford, in order to guard both sides of the island from invasion; and during the winter he made a progress through the counties of Suffolk and Norfolk, where he had most reason to expect a descent, on account of their neighbourhood to the Low Countries. When he arrived at St. Edmundsbury, he received intimation that the marquis of Dorset was on the road to visit him, that he might vindicate himself from some malicious imputations, and offer his service to his majesty: but Henry, instead of accepting his offer, sent the earl of Oxford to meet and conduct him prisoner to the Tower, tho' he was desired to assure the marquis, that, after the extinction of the rebellion, he should have a fair hearing; and that his present arrest would conduce to his own safety, by hindering him from being misled by evil counsellors. From Edmundsbury the king repaired to Norwich, where he kept his Christmas; thence he proceeded in pilgrimage to visit our Lady's church of Walsingham; and then returned by the way of Cambridge to London. Here he learned, that the earl of Lincoln with his foreign auxiliaries had landed in Ireland: so that being freed from his apprehension of a descent from Flanders, he assembled all his troops in the neighbourhood of Coventry, which is in the heart of the kingdom; and repairing to that city in person, resolved to wait for more certain information touching the designs of the enemy.

Henry de-
feats and
takes Sim-
nel at Stoke.

He had not remained long in this situation, when he was informed that Simnel and his friends were landed in Lancashire, and joined by Sir Thomas Broughton, and a small number of English malcontents. They had begun their march towards York, in hope of seeing their numbers daily increase: and they forbore all acts of hostility in the

country

country through which they passed, with a view to interest the people in their favour. They were, however, miserably disappointed in their expectation. The natives, either dreading the sagacity and fortune of Henry, or averse to a king introduced by the Irish and Germans, far from taking arms in his favour, exhibited no marks of good will to the enterprize; and the earl of Lincoln fearing that his army, consisting of eight thousand men, would rather diminish than increase, resolved to give battle to the king before all his force should be assembled. For this purpose, he changed his route, and marched towards Newark, in hope of making himself master of that place before the arrival of the enemy. Henry had advanced to Nottingham, at the head of six thousand men; and being joined by an equal number, under the command of the earl of Shrewsbury, the lord Strange, with a considerable number of knights and gentlemen; he, with the advice of his council, determined to engage the rebels without delay. Guessing Lincoln's design upon the town of Newark, he marched thither with great expedition, and posted himself between the enemy and the town, while the earl of Lincoln encamped on the declivity of a hill near the village of Stoke. Next day, being the sixth of June, Henry drew up his army in order of battle upon the plain, which was so narrow, that he could not extend his front; and, therefore he was obliged to form his troops into three lines, placing his best men in the first, to the number of six thousand. The enemy did not decline the engagement; on the contrary, they marched down in order, and attacked the royalists with great intrepidity, hoping, that should they be able to break the king's first line, it would fall back on the other two, and put the whole army in confusion. The naked Irish, though terribly galled by the English arrows, maintained their ground

A. C. 1487. ground without flinching ; and the German troops being well disciplined and inured to war, fought with great obstinacy for three hours, until by far the greater part was slain, with Martin Swart their leader. The earls of Lincoln and Kildare met with the same fate ; and their army was totally routed, with the loss of four thousand men killed upon the field of battle. Nor was the victory cheaply purchased by the king, one half of whose first line was cut in pieces. Lambert Simnel, and his tutor were taken prisoners ; and Henry affected to despise his rival so much, that he would not deprive him of his life ; but retained him as a scullion in his kitchen, from which low station he was afterwards promoted to the place of a falconer. Simon the priest was committed to prison, and never heard of after his commitment. The lord Lovel is by some supposed to have been drowned in the Trent, endeavouring to ford that river after the battle ; others affirm he was slain in the action ; and a third set believe he passed the remainder of his life in a vault or cavern *.

Henry
fleeces the
malcon-
tents.

Immediately after the battle, the king marched to Lincoln, from whence he advanced to York ; and, in this progress severely punished all those who had favoured the rebels, or were convicted of having circulated a report, that the king's army was defeated : a report which had hindered some powerful succours from joining Henry before the battle. Those delinquents were tried partly by commissioners, and partly by martial law ; but, the punishment fell upon their estates only, the king being satisfied with filling his coffers by fines and confiscations.

* This last notion is countenanced by a discovery made about sixty years ago at this nobleman's seat of Minster-Lovel in Oxfordshire. The workmen in repairing the house, found in a sub-

terraneous room, the figure of a venerable old man sitting in a great chair ; but, when touched, the body fell into dust, Carte.

When

A. C. 1487.

Act. Pub.

Plan of a
treaty with
Scotland.

When he had fleeced the malcontents in this manner, he procured a bull from the pope, empowering the archbishop of Canterbury to absolve them of the excommunication they had incurred by the former bull of settlement, as if he had been solicitous about the salvation of those who sought his ruin. At the same time, Innocent VIII. sent over another bull, restraining the privilege of sanctuaries within proper bounds. He ordained, that malefactors who had quitted the sanctuary to commit fresh crimes, and returned again to it for shelter, might be forcibly taken from it by the king's officers: that, with respect to debtors, who took sanctuary in order to defraud their creditors, the privilege should extend to their persons only, and not to their estates; and that the king might send guards into the sanctuary, to prevent the escape of traitors and rebels. While Henry resided at York, deputies arrived from Scotland, to terminate some difference concerning the fishery of the river Esk; and the king took this opportunity of beginning a negotiation with James the Scottish monarch, to whose court he sent Fox bishop of Exeter, and Sir Richard Edgecomb, as his ambassadors, to treat of a triple alliance. The treaty was projected, and they agreed to the following articles: That the Scottish marquis of Ormond should marry Catherine daughter of the fourth Edward: That James himself should espouse Edward's widow: That his son the prince of Scotland should be matched with another daughter of that monarch: That the king of England should cede for ever the town and castle of Berwick to the Scots: That the articles and conditions of those three marriages should be regulated by the commissioners of the two kings, to be assembled at Edinburgh, first in January, and then in May: That the two kings should have an interview in the month of July: and, That the truce should be prolonged for thir-

A. C. 1487. teen months. Henry ratified these conventions on the twentieth day of November : but, the execution of the treaty was prevented by the troubles that ensued in Scotland.

The queen's coronation.

The king in his journey to the North had occasion to perceive, that the discontents of the people proceeded in a great measure from his severity to the partisans of the house of York, and in particular to his having so long delayed the queen's coronation. He therefore resolved to remove this subject of complaint. About the beginning of November he returned to London, which he entered in triumph ; and next day went in procession to St. Paul's church, where Te Deum was sung for the victory he had obtained over the rebels. Then he appointed the duke of Bedford high steward for the coronation of the queen, which was performed with the usual solemnities, on the twenty fifth day of November, two years after her marriage. Upon this occasion, he set at liberty the marquis of Dorset, without having brought him to any trial ; and towards the latter end of the year, sent a solemn embassy to the pope, with intimation of his marriage, and proffers of service and spiritual obedience.

Affairs of Brittany.

The war still continued in the Low Countries, where the troops of Charles VIII. surprised St. Omer and Terouenne ; and the inhabitants of Ghent were incited by a nobleman, called Rassingham, to revolt against Maximilian. By this time Francis II. duke of Brittany, was old, infirm, and at certain times deprived of his senses : having no sons, he, with the consent of his estates, settled the succession upon his two daughters, Anne and Isabel, which last died before her father ; so that Anne became sole heiress of Bretagne. Charles VIII. was desirous of uniting that dutchy with France, by marrying this princess ; but his views were thwarted by Lewis duke of Orleans, whom he had persecuted

at

at the instigation of his sister Madam de Beaujeu, and compelled to fly for shelter into Brittany, where he met with a very hospitable reception, and gained an ascendancy over Francis. This prince being incensed against his own nobility, who had put his favourite Landais to death, gladly entertained the duke of Orleans, with the prince of Orange, the count de Dunois, and some other French noblemen of that party; and the lords of Bretagne entered into a negotiation with Charles, though their motives were very different from those by which the French king was actuated when he concluded the alliance. He thought the treaty would furnish him with an opportunity to make a complete conquest of Bretagne, while they hoped his protection would screen them from the resentment and arbitrary designs of their own sovereign. In pursuance of this treaty, Charles invaded Brittany with six different armies; and the duke, retiring to Maletroit, assembled sixteen thousand men, with whom he began his march, to raise the siege of Ploermel, which the enemy had undertaken; but, as he advanced, he found himself abandoned by all his forces, except about four thousand; and retreated with great precipitation to Nantz, which was besieged by the French after they had reduced Ploermel, Vannes, and Dinant. The duke had commissioned the count de Dunois as his ambassador, to solicit succours of the king of England; and that nobleman had embarked four different times on this embassy, but was always driven back by contrary winds or tempestuous weather.

Argentré.

While Charles was employed in the siege of Nantz, he received advice of the victory which Henry had obtained at Stokefield, and immediately dispatched ambassadors to congratulate him upon his good fortune, and endeavour to dissuade him from intermeddling in the affairs of Bretagne. They

Charles of
France
sends an
embassy to
Henry.

A. C. 1437. found him at Leicester, where they were admitted to an audience; in which, after the compliments of congratulation, they observed that the king their sovereign found himself obliged to engage in a war with the duke of Brittany, who had given protection to the duke of Orleans, the declared enemy of Charles; and even assisted him in exciting troubles in the kingdom of France: that therefore the duke of Brittany was in effect the aggressor: and the French king hoped, from the equity of Henry, that he would consider him in no other light. That, although the king had formerly lain under some obligations to the duke of Brittany, he would likewise remember the assistance he had received from the French monarch, at the time when the duke had not only abandoned his interest, but even agreed to deliver him into the hands of his enemy. For which reasons, Charles hoped the king of England, far from engaging in the defence of the duke of Brittany, who protected and encouraged the rebellious subjects of his neighbour prince, would espouse the interest of his real friend, or at least observe an exact neutrality. Henry was not ignorant of the design with which Charles had taken the field; but, as the French ambassadors had carefully avoided touching upon their master's real scheme of reuniting Brittany to the kingdom of France, he dissembled in his turn, and replied, That as the French king and the duke of Brittany were the two princes to whom he was more obliged than to all the world besides, he longed for an opportunity of manifesting his gratitude to both. He said he would, upon this occasion, fulfil the duty of a real friend, and endeavour to compromise their difference in an amicable manner. He did not imagine that Bretagne would be easily conquered. He did not doubt that Charles would accept of his mediation, rather than incur his resentment; and he fore-
saw

saw that this affair would furnish him with a pre- A. C. 1487.
 tence for demanding a subsidy, which he should
 have no occasion to expend.

In these sentiments he dispatched ambassadors
 with offers of his mediation to king Charles;
 and, should these be accepted, they were ordered
 to proceed to the duke of Bretagne with the same
 proposal. Charles was then employed in the siege
 of Nantz; and, as it was his interest to amuse
 Henry until the place should be taken, he not only
 accepted his mediation, but also offered to submit
 the dispute to his final decision; hoping either
 that the duke of Brittany would reject the arbitra-
 tion, or that the negotiation might be spun out
 until he should be master of the dutchy. When
 the English ambassadors proposed their master's
 mediation to the duke, who was besieged in Nantz,
 the duke of Orleans replied in the name of that
 prince, that in such a perilous conjuncture, he ex-
 pected substantial assistance from the king of Eng-
 land, rather than offers of mediation, which could
 not prevent the loss of his dominions: he desired
 their king would remember the benefits he had re-
 ceived from the duke of Brittany, and consider
 how much it imported England to hinder that
 dutchy from becoming a province of France. With
 this answer the ambassadors were dismissed, and
 Charles triumphed greatly in his affected modera-
 tion. Mean while he carried on his attacks with
 such vigour, that the place must have been surren-
 dered, had not the count de Dunois assembled a
 great multitude of peasants, who were anxious
 about the fate of their sovereign, and relieved the
 town in the face of the French army. This sup-
 ply obliged Charles to raise the siege; and Henry
 being now fully persuaded that the French king
 would not be able to conquer Brittany, resolved
 to continue neuter; but at the same time affected to

Henry offers
 his media-
 tion to com-
 promise all
 differences
 between
 Charles and
 the duke of
 Brittany.

Argentré.

A. C. 1487. interest himself warmly in the duke's favour, that he might have a pretext for demanding a subsidy from the parliament which he had convoked for the ninth day of November. Mean while he sent back the ambassadors to renew their efforts for a negotiation.

The duke of
Brittany of-
fers his
daughter in
marriage to
the king of
the Romans.

The lord Wideville, the queen's uncle, solicited the king's permission to engage in the service of the duke of Brittany with a number of volunteers; and, though Henry denied his request, he embarked privately at the Isle of Wight with four hundred men, who were no sooner landed in the duke's dominions, than Charles complained of them to the English ambassadors, as a body of auxiliaries sent in violation of the neutrality which the king of England affected to maintain. Henry, however, disavowing this step of the lord Wideville as a clandestine transaction, Charles was satisfied, because it was not his interest to break with the king of England at such a juncture; for by this time the noblemen of Brittany, perceiving the intention of the French king was to make a conquest of their country, had made peace with their sovereign, who could not however prevent Charles from taking the town of Dol by assault; so that the duke, thinking himself unsafe at Nantz, retired to Rennes, in hope of being succoured by some of his allies: there, finding himself hard pressed by the enemy, and seeing no prospect of immediate assistance, he suffered himself to be persuaded by the prince of Orange to promise he would bestow his daughter Anne in marriage upon the king of the Romans; and that prince engaged to bring a powerful army into Bretagne; but he was prevented by the revolt of Ghent, which employed a his forces in Flanders.

Transac-
tions in par-
liament.

During these transactions on the continent, the English ambassadors returned to London, and re-
ported

ported to Henry that the intention of Charles was to amuse him with a negotiation until Bretagne should be conquered. The parliament meeting at Westminster, the session was opened with a speech by the archbishop of Canterbury, chancellor of the realm, who, in the king's name, having thanked the two houses for the acts they had passed in his favour at their last sitting, gave them to understand, that with respect to the war between France and Bretagne, Charles had desired he would observe a neutrality, and the duke had solicited his assistance: that he had offered his mediation, which was accepted by the French king, on condition that he should not discontinue hostilities, until the difference should be compromised; but that this condition was rejected by the duke of Brittany, who distrusted the sincerity of Charles, and observed that his aim was to spin out the negotiation until the dutchy should be subdued; that after having ineffectually employed his best offices to terminate the dispute by an accommodation, he begged the advice of his parliament; and desired they would consider whether or not he ought to interpose more effectual measures for the preservation of Bretagne. This was a question that required very little consideration: the English were too jealous of the power of France to stand tamely, and see it augmented by the accession of such a maritime province, which they counselled the king to defend with all his might; and that he might be enabled to assist the duke effectually, they granted a supply of two fifteenths, besides a poll tax upon aliens, and another act of resumption. In this session they confirmed the authority of the Star-chamber, a court which had hitherto subsisted by the ancient common laws of the realm. It consisted of the members of the king's council, who sat in an apartment called the Star-chamber, from the cieling,

A. C. 1487. which was painted with stars, to judge offences under the degree of capital. The parliament likewise enacted a statute, by which any servant of the king, under the degree of a nobleman, conspiring the death of any member of the council, or lord of the realm, should be deemed guilty of a capital crime. The same penalty was extended to those who should obtain possession of women by force, howsoever they might afterwards be reconciled to their ravishers. A law was made for the more effectual prevention of murder and manslaughter. Another statute ordained that clerks convicted should be burned in the hand, for a taste of punishment and brand of infamy, from which they had been hitherto exempted. A third decreed that the king's officers and farmers should forfeit their places and holds, in case of unlawful retainer, or being concerned in riots and illegal assemblies. Several wholesome regulations were made for the prevention of usury, the security of the king's customs, and the employment of foreign commodities imported into the kingdom.

The duke of
Brittany is
defeated by
the French
king at St.
Aubin.

Henry having accomplished his aim, which was a subsidy, instead of employing it in vigorous measures, resumed the method of negotiation, and sent ambassadors again to Charles, to make him acquainted with the resolution of the parliament. The French king, who was no stranger to Henry's sentiments and disposition, still continued to amuse him by declaring himself ready to abide by the decision of the king of England: but he absolutely refused to interrupt his operations, alledging that such interruption would enable his adversary to retrieve his affairs; nevertheless the duke of Bretagne gained by the approach of winter what he could not obtain by Henry's solicitations. The king of France was obliged to put his troops in quarters, and return to Paris, while the duke not
only

only enjoyed a respite, but, by the valour and activity of the marechal Rieux, retook Vannes and Dinan, in the month of March, and secured Ancennis and Chateaubriant, with strong garrisons : at the same time a small body of men at arms, belonging to the lord of Albret, deserted the service of France, and joined the duke of Brittany. This smile of fortune was of short duration : in the month of April Charles began the campaign, retook and demolished Ancennis and Chateau-Briant ; and at one time invested Fougères and St. Aubin de Cormier. In the beginning of the war the duke of Bretagne had endeavoured to detach the lord of Albret from the interest of France, by promising to give him his daughter in marriage ; and now that nobleman embracing the proposal, joined him with a body of a thousand horse, in expectation of seeing his promise immediately fulfilled. Francis, who had in private betrothed his daughter to Maximilian, tutored the princess, who was about eleven years of age, to express a personal aversion to the match ; and this served as a pretence for delaying the marriage. Mean while, finding himself altogether unable to cope with the French, and being disappointed in his expectations from Henry and the king of the Romans, he sent the count de Dunois to solicit Charles for peace. That king was then engaged in a private negotiation for a truce with the king of England ; and therefore deferred giving a positive answer, on various pretences, until he received advice that the treaty was concluded at Windsor : then having nothing to fear from Henry, he rejected the duke's proposals, and resolved to continue the war until he should have made an intire conquest of the dutchy. The duke's affairs being now desperate, his chief counsellors, the duke of Orleans, the prince of Orange, and the marechal Rieux, resolved to make one vigorous effort, by giving battle to the enemy.

Mezerai.

Rymer.

A.C. 1488. enemy. With this view they marched towards St. Aubin, which had capitulated before they arrived ; and the French army being reunited under the command of Lewis de la Tremouille, a battle ensued on the twenty-eighth day of July, when the forces of Brittany were routed with great slaughter : the duke of Orleans and the prince of Orange, who fought on foot, were taken prisoners, and the lord Wideville was slain, with all his followers.

Argentré.

Insurrection
in York-
shire.

While the duke of Bretagne thus precipitated his own ruin, the king of England made his distress a pretext for levying the subsidy with the utmost expedition ; and all the counties paid it without murmuring, except the inhabitants of Yorkshire and the bishopric of Durham, who, as old partisans of the house of York, hated Henry, and refused to comply with the conditions of the tax, which they said was a grievous oppression. The commissioners being thus repulsed, addressed themselves to the earl of Northumberland, who wrote to court for directions ; and the king insisted peremptorily on their paying their proportion of the subsidy which had been granted by parliament ; observing that the affairs of Bretagne were very pressing ; and that should he relinquish his right on this occasion, other counties would be encouraged to claim the same exemption. The earl no sooner received this answer, than he assembled the justices and freeholders of the county, and signified his majesty's pleasure in such imperious terms, as not only confirmed them in their resolution to refuse payment, but also excited their resentment against the earl, whom they considered as the person who had fomented the king's indignation. Thus instigated, the populace immediately assembled, and breaking into his house, slew him with a good number of his servants. They were animated by a popular incendiary called John a Chamber ; and choosing

choosing for their leader Sir John Egremont, a very A. C. 1488,
 turbulent partisan of the house of York, they
 avowed their rebellion; declaring they would march
 to London, and give battle to Henry. The news
 of this insurrection did not much alarm the king,
 though he forthwith sent a body of troops against
 the rebels, under the command of the earl of
 Surrey, whom he had released from the Tower, and
 admitted into his favour. That nobleman, enga-
 ging the insurgents, routed them at the first onset,
 and made John a Chamber prisoner; but Sir John
 Egremont escaped, and, crossing the sea, took re-
 fuge with the dutchess dowager of Burgundy. The
 king, who followed the earl of Surrey with another
 body of troops, proceeded in his progress north-
 ward as far as York, where he ordered John a
 Chamber to be hanged, with a great number of
 his accomplices, and granted a general pardon to
 the rest of the rebels. Having constituted the earl
 of Surrey his lieutenant in the northern parts, and
 appointed Sir Richard Tunstall his principal com-
 missioner for levying the subsidy, he returned to
 London, where he was surprised with the tidings
 of the duke of Bretagne's being defeated at St.
 Aubin.

That prince was now reduced to a deplorable
 condition: he had nothing to expect from Henry
 but fruitless negotiations. Maximilian, instead of
 succouring his future father-in-law, was himself
 imprisoned by the Flemings at Bruges, and re-
 mained in confinement until his father Frederick,
 the emperor, marched into the Low Countries at
 the head of a numerous army to his relief. He was
 so intent upon fortifying himself against the mu-
 tinous spirit of the Flemings, that, forgetting all
 his engagements with the duke of Brittany, he sent
 an embassy into Spain to demand of Ferdinand and
 his queen their eldest daughter Isabel for himself,
 and

Treaty be-
 tween the
 king of
 France and
 the duke of
 Brittany.

A. C. 1488. and the younger infant *Jane* for his son *Philip*: the former was already promised to the prince of Portugal, but the second part of his proposal took effect in the sequel. Mean while *Philip de Cleves*, lord of *Ravenstein*, being chosen general by the inhabitants of *Ghent*, surprised the city of *Brussels*: and *Maximilian* retired to Germany, leaving *Albert* duke of *Saxony* to command for his son *Philip* in the Low Countries. The duke of *Brittany*, being thus abandoned by all the world, sued for peace in the most humble manner; and found *Charles* very well disposed to grant his request. That politic monarch, though he had concluded a truce with *Henry*, perceived from the temper of the English nation, that their king would find himself obliged to take some vigorous measures for the defence of *Brittany*; and those he resolved to prevent by a treaty with the duke, which he would no farther observe than he should find it convenient for his own purposes: their conferences were accordingly opened; and about the latter end of August a treaty of peace was concluded at *Vorger*, on condition that *Charles* should retain the places he had conquered, and withdraw his troops from the other parts of *Brittany*.

Mezerai.
Argentré.

The duke of
Brittany
dies, and
Henry de-
clares him-
self the pro-
tector of his
daughter.

Immediately after the ratification of this treaty, *Francis II.* duke of *Brittany* died in a very old age, leaving his daughter *Anne* under the tuition of the *marechal de Rieux* and the count de *Cominge*: but *Philip de Montauban* chancellor of the dutchy carried the young princess to *Guerande*, where he made use of her name and authority to cloak his own designs; and his influence with her produced a quarrel between him and the *marechal*, which proved very detrimental to her own interest, as well as to that of her subjects. The king of England, being informed of the duke's death, declared openly that he would consider the interest of the
orphan

orphan dutcheſs as his own, and affected to make A. C. 1488.
 preparations for ſuccouring her in the moſt effectual
 manner. As the late treaty between France and
 Brittany was proviſional, until the pretenſions of
 Charles to the ſovereignty of that dutchy could be
 regulated, Henry's aim was to hinder the French
 king from taking the advantage of the duke's death,
 and the conſternation of the Bretons. He thought
 this purpoſe would be answered by his openly eſ-
 pouſing the cauſe of the dutcheſs; that Charles,
 rather than come to an open rupture with England,
 would abate in his pretenſions; that he himſelf
 would be choſen umpire of the difference, and con-
 ſequently avoid a war which would oblige him to
 empty his coffers. In order to intimidate the
 French king, he ſent ambaffadors to the king of
 the Romans and his ſon Philip the archduke, and
 diſpatched envoys to the kings of Spain and Portu-
 gal, as if he intended to form a league againſt
 Charles, whom, by a third embaffy, he preſſed to
 finiſh all differences with Bretagne by a new treaty;
 at the ſame time, he ſent Edgecomb and Henry
 Aynſworth with offers of aſſiſtance to the young
 dutcheſs, and powers to engage in his name for a
 certain number of troops, on ſufficient ſecurity for
 a reimbursement of the expence. Rymer,

The affairs of Brittany engroſſed the attention of
 the kings of England and France to ſuch a degree,
 that they neglected ſending ſuccours to their ally
 James III. king of Scotland, whoſe nobles, with
 his ſon at their head, had riſen in rebellion. He
 had retired to the caſtle of Edinburgh, and ſolli-
 cited the aſſiſtance of Charles and Henry, who pro-
 miſed to ſend forces to his aid: but his friends ad-
 viſed him to remove to the caſtle of Stirling,
 which he would find more commodious for receiv-
 ing the ſuccours he expected from abroad. In
 compliance with this advice, he quitted Edinburgh,
 and James III.
 of Scotland
 killed by his
 own ſub-
 jects.

A. C. 1488. and marched with a small body of troops to Stirling, where he was refused admittance by the governor. He then endeavoured to return to the place from which he had departed; but was prevented by the rebellious noblemen who had engaged him at Bannockburn, where he was defeated and slain. His son James, at that time but fifteen years of age, was proclaimed king of Scotland on the field of battle by the victors; and in the month of July sent ambassadors to Henry, to notify his accession to the Scottish throne.

Buchanan.

A. C. 1489.

Henry sends a reinforcement to the dutchess of Bretagne.

Rymer.

On the tenth day of February, the English envoys concluded a treaty with the dutchess of Bretagne, by which Henry engaged to assist her with a reinforcement of six thousand men, on condition of being put into possession of certain places, by way of security for the expence of this armament: so that by this negotiation he provided for the safety of Bretagne, without expending any part of the money he had received from parliament; on the contrary, he contrived a method for laying it out to the best advantage; for by retaining the securities, he found means to be repayed with interest. The dutchess was glad to receive the assistance of England upon any terms. She saw a French army in the heart of her dominions: she found herself without troops and money; and her principal subjects were divided among themselves, by the most rancorous feuds and factions. The marechal de Rieux had been appointed her tutor; but Philip de Montauban her chancellor, who had gained an ascendancy over her spirit, represented the marechal to her in such a light, that she refused to own him as her guardian. Philip insinuated that he was a creature of the king of France, by whose direction he wanted to effect a marriage between her and the lord of Albret, a nobleman unsupported by any alliance, who would not be able to protect her dominions.

minions. The marechal was so incensed against this rival, that he had not only refused to admit the dutchess into Nantz, but even threatened to besiege her in Rennes the place of her ordinary residence. No wonder then that Montauban, who was at the head of the administration, concluded such a treaty with the king of England, the arrival of whose succours would so strongly fortify his interest.

A. C. 1489.

Argentré.

The English troops being landed in Brittany in the month of March, the French king began to think that Henry intended to act with vigour in defence of the dutchess; and from the embassies to so many different powers, he no longer doubted that his aim was to form a powerful confederacy against France. By the mediation of the German princes, assembled at Franckfort, a treaty was brought upon the anvil, for a pacification between him and Maximilian, as well as between Maximilian and the Flemings. He had in his power Margaret daughter of the king of the Romans, whom by treaty he was obliged to marry, as soon as she should be of age; and he was intirely ignorant of the private contract between the late duke of Bretagne and Maximilian, touching the marriage of the duke's daughter. He therefore did not doubt, that his future father-in-law would be favourable to his interest; and in this opinion proposed to the dutchess Anne, that their difference should be left to the arbitration of Maximilian. Her ministry joyfully embraced this proposal, in full confidence that she would be favoured by a prince destined to be her husband; and the king of the Romans was very well pleased with this opportunity of acting as umpire, in an affair that so nearly concerned his own interest. The envoys of the two parties assembling at Franckfort, soon concluded, under Maximilian's arbitration, a provisional treaty, im-

Treaty between Charles of France and the dutchess of Bretagne.

porting,

A. C. 1489. porting, That Charles should restore all the places he had conquered in Brittany, except Dinan, St. Aubin, Fougères, and St. Malo, which should be deposited in the hands of Maximilian and the duke of Bourbon; and that the French troops should evacuate all the other parts of the dutchy: That Anne should send back the English troops: That in April of the succeeding year, a congress should be held at Tournay, where all differences should be determined; and, in the mean time the parties should send their reasons to Avignon to be examined and discussed by civilians, that their opinions might serve as instructions to their mediators. Though the articles of this treaty were agreeable to both parties, it proved ineffectual. The places which Anne had delivered by way of security to Henry, were garrisoned by five hundred English troops; and though the other auxiliaries of that nation returned to their own country after the treaty with France, these five hundred would not quit Brittany until the king of England should be reimbursed; a condition which the dutchess could not fulfil. There the affair rested; and neither party sent reasons to Avignon, or ambassadors to Tournay.

Mezerai.

Maximilian
marries the
dutchess of
Bretagne by
proxy.

Mean while the marriage between Maximilian and the young dutchess was negotiated with all possible secrecy; and at length solemnized in the month of November, the prince of Nassau acting as proxy for the king of the Romans, and putting his naked leg in bed with the dutchess, as a proof of consummation; but this affair was transacted with such privacy, that neither Charles of France nor Henry of England had the least intimation of it for a whole year after the ceremony was performed. Anne, foreseeing that the war would be renewed as soon as her marriage should be divulged, sent the chancellor of Montauban and other envoys,

to demand succours of Henry; and engage in her name, that she would never marry without his knowledge and consent. They were likewise instructed to inform him of her formal protest against the contract which had been made by her father, touching her marriage with the lord of Albret; and to insinuate that, as the marechal de Rieux espoused the interest of that nobleman, her dutchy was in as great danger from her own subjects as from the French monarch. This remonstrance had no effect upon Henry, who, instead of accommodating the dutchess with new succours, sent another embassy into France, to treat with king Charles about the termination of all the differences subsisting between him and Anne of Brittany. He was persuaded that Charles dreaded his junction with the dutchess so much, that he would not only be glad to embrace equitable proposals of peace, but even to purchase it at any price he should think proper to impose: in this opinion he ordered his ambassadors to demand the arrears of the pension which Lewis XI. had agreed to pay to Edward IV. by the treaty of Pequigny. In the mean time, he appointed commissioners to treat with the envoys from Brittany; and the whole result of the negotiation was a further security for the money he had already disbursed. With respect to the succours she demanded, there was no article in the treaty. He confined himself to verbal promises, that he would never abandon the dutchess. Imagining that Charles was sincerely desirous of peace, he thought such succours were altogether unnecessary: but having still an eye to the reimbursement of his money, he demanded that the town of Nantz should be put into his power, on pretence that it was in danger of falling into the hands of the French; and he promised faithfully to restore it on the first requisition. Before he could gain this point, however,

A. C. 1490. the lord of Albret, having resigned all hope of espousing the dutcheſs, ſurpriſed that rich city, and embraced the French party. Mean while Charles amused the Engliſh ambaffadors with evaſive profeſſions, in order to gain time, that he might be able to terminate the war to his own advantage, without referring the diſpute to Henry, whoſe arbitration he had no mind to adopt.

Henry aſſiſts
Maximilian,
and inti-
midates
Charles.

During theſe negotiations, the duke of Saxony, who commanded in the Low Countries in the name of Maximilian, publiſhed an edict touching the coin, to which the inhabitants of Bruges reſuſed to ſubmit; and thoſe of Ghent joined in their revolt. The king of France, whoſe conſtant aim was to foment domeſtic troubles in the dominions of his neighbours, ſent ſuccours to the rebels, under the command of the marechal Deſquerdes governor of Picardy; and, on the other hand, Maximilian ſent ambaffadors to Henry to form a league againſt Charles. The king of England, piqued at the indifference with which his ambaffadors were treated in France, and unwilling to ſee the archduke oppreſſed by his own ſubjects, ſent a reinforcement of a thouſand men to Calais; and ordered the lord Daubigney, governor of that fortrefs, to march to the relief of Dixmuyd, which the Flemings, with the aſſiſtance of the French, had inveſted, after having taken Ypres and Sluys. Daubigney no ſooner received this order, than he marched at the head of two thouſand men, and threw himſelf into Dixmuyd in the night, without oppoſition. At day-break, he made a ſally at the oppoſite gate, and falling upon the camp of the confederates, routed them entirely. This affair produced great coldneſs between the kings of France and England; but Charles durſt not complain, becauſe Henry had as good a right to ſupport the ſovereign as he had to aſſiſt the rebellious ſubjects. The Engliſh mo-
narch,

Eacon.

narch, finding Charles still more and more averse to an accommodation with the dutcheſs of Bretagne, thought proper to take ſuch public meaſures as would intimidate that prince into more pacific reſolutions. In the beginning of the year he had renewed the treaties of alliance with Portugal and Denmark. In September, he concluded with Maximilian and his ſon Philip a league againſt France, for their mutual defence and that of the dutcheſs of Brittany. At the ſame time he publiſhed a treaty concluded with Ferdinand and Iſabella ſovereigns of Spain; by which the two parties engaged to maintain a war againſt France, until Charles ſhould have reſtored Rouſſillon to Ferdinand, and Guienne and Normandy to Henry. They likewiſe agreed that Arthur prince of Wales ſhould wed Catherine infant of Spain, as ſoon as the parties ſhould be marriageable. The league with the king of the Romans referred to this treaty; and thoſe three princes engaged to invade France at one time, each at the head of a ſeparate army, to act for the intereſt of the alliance, and the defence of the dutcheſs of Bretagne. This league, however, was no more than a bugbear, raiſed to terrify Charles into pacific meaſures. It was with the ſame view, that Henry concluded a treaty of alliance with John Galeazo duke of Milan. Nor was this artifice altogether unſucceſſful. The French king began to be afraid of a league, which would not only interrupt him in the conqueſt of Bretagne, but alſo baffle thoſe deſigns which he had for ſome time meditated upon the kingdom of Naples. This apprehenſion hindered him from recommencing hoſtilities in Bretagne, though he had a ſtrong army in the heart of that province, and the dutcheſs was in no condition to check his progreſs.

Perplexed by theſe ſuggeſtions he reſolved to ſend an embaſſy into England, on pretence of en-

A. C. 1490.
Charles
sends an
embassy to
England to
solicit
peace.

deavouring to detach Henry from the interest of Anne, but in reality to learn what he had to hope or to fear from the English monarch. For this purpose he chose Francis de Luxembourg, viscount de Martigues, Valeran de Sams, and Robert Gauguin, minister-general of the order of the Trinity. These ambassadors arriving in England, had an audience of the king at London, at which nothing material was transacted: but Richard Fox, bishop of Exeter, Thomas earl of Ormond, and some others, being appointed commissioners to treat with them, the general of the trinity, at their first conference, in a very humble speech, observed, that he and his colleagues were sent to demand peace of the king of England, for whom Charles had the most profound esteem; that their master proposed to make a conquest of Naples, which was unjustly detained from him by a bastard of the house of Arragon; and that, after having finished that enterprize, his intention was to carry his arms into the East, and overthrow the Ottoman empire; that in these sentiments he made no scruple to demand peace of all the European princes, that he might not, by their means, be diverted from the execution of a project that would redound so much to the glory and advantage of the christian religion; and finally, that, as a mark of his eager desire to maintain a good correspondence with the king of England, he, though undoubted lord paramount of Bretagne, and consequently intitled to the wardship of the dutchess, desired that king Henry would consent to his disposing of her in marriage as he should think proper. To this lowly remonstrance, the chancellor, in the king's name, made a very lofty reply. He said the good understanding between his master and the French king was not to be restored by words but by actions; that, with respect to the marriage of Anne dutchess

dutchess of Brittany, king Henry had no intention to intermeddle in the affair, provided Charles would act by the law and not by the sword; and as for his designs upon the kingdom of Naples, he would only make one observation, which was, that if Charles thought his honour engaged to recover that realm, he could not be surprised that the king of England would do his utmost endeavour to retrieve the possession of Guienne, Normandy, and the whole kingdom of France, which was his lawful inheritance. The French ambassadors, surprised at this declaration, answered with some warmth, that the king their sovereign was not afraid of such menaces, and knew how to defend his just rights against any prince or person who should attempt to invade them. The chancellor replied without emotion, that the king expected no other answer from them, but that he would in a little time send ambassadors into France, in order to explain his intentions to their master. Mean while he asked if Charles would be contented, should the king of England consent to his disposing of the dutchess of Bretagne in marriage, with an exclusion of his own person. To this question the ambassadors replied, that their king was so far from entertaining any thought of espousing the dutchess, that he had given them no instructions on the subject. Henry, upon this occasion, spun his thread of politics too fine. His intention was to intimidate Charles; and for that purpose, he made use of a rhodomontade which produced a contrary effect. The French king knew he was too wise to embark in such an enterprize as the conquest of France; and therefore interpreted his menaces into an artifice for deterring him from the conquest of Brittany, which he resolved to prosecute without further hesitation.

In the month of February, the king, according to his promise, sent ambassadors to France, with

A.C. 1491.

Charles besieges the dutchess of Brittany in Rennes.

power to treat of all the differences subsisting between him and Charles, as well as concerning the affairs of Brittany; and immediately after he had dismissed these envoys, he received an embassy from Anne. Thinking it unnecessary to conceal her marriage with Maximilian any longer from the knowledge of Henry, who assumed the name of her protector, she sent a solemn deputation, composed of the prince of Orange, the count de Dunois, and the chancellor, to notify it to him, and solicit his immediate succour. Charles was no sooner informed of this march, than he besieged the dutchess in her capital city of Rennes; and during the siege, which lasted several months, she sent repeated envoys to Henry, demanding assistance. He made use of these pressing solicitations, as a pretence for raising loans of money through the whole kingdom. He renewed the league with Ferdinand and Maximilian, who sent two thousand men to the assistance of his wife, while his allies engaged to enter France at the head of two good armies, by the month of June in the following year. Not that either of these allies intended to fulfil this engagement. Ferdinand was otherwise employed in the war of Grenada; the king of the Romans was destitute of troops and money; and Henry, perceiving at last that Bretagne must certainly be conquered, would by no means engage alone in its defence. Their views therefore in this alliance had a very different termination. Ferdinand hoped his league with Henry would induce Charles to purchase his forbearance with the restitution of Roussillon. The king of the Romans wanted to involve Ferdinand and Henry in a war, of which he would reap the whole fruit, without bearing any share of the labour; and the sole aim of Henry was, by the terror of this triple alliance, to extort from Charles security

security for the payment of the demands which he had upon France and Brittany. A. C. 1491.

The French king, without being much disturbed by these negotiations, continued the siege of Rennes; but, as he made little progress in his operations, and the season was already far advanced, he took a more efficacious method to secure the possession of Bretagne. He bribed all the counsellors of the young dutchess, to persuade her to renounce her marriage with Maximilian, and receive himself as her husband. The princess, who was then about fifteen years of age, at first resisted all their solicitations, observing that she could not in honour abandon a prince whom she had voluntarily married. But they alledged that Maximilian had abandoned her, in relinquishing her interest and living quietly in Germany, without offering to come in person and undertake her defence, or sending succours proportioned to her occasions. They represented that, considering the present situation of affairs, Brittany would certainly become a province of France, and Maximilian would manifest still less regard for her, when he should see her stripped of her dominions; so that she would have the completed mortification to lose her husband and her dutchy, and see her subjects reduced to slavery: that in marrying the king of France she might secure to herself the sovereignty of Bretagne, and preserve the liberty of her people: and that the age of Charles was more suitable to her own than that of Maximilian, who was already advanced in years. The king of France, finding her deaf to all these remonstrances, devised another expedient to overcome her obstinacy. Knowing what an ascendancy the duke of Orleans had gained over the mind of this young princess, he released him from the tower of Bourges, in which he had been confined since the battle of St. Aubin, on condition

The dutch-
ess consents
to marry
Charles.

A. C. 1491. that he should employ all his influence with the dutchess, in obtaining her consent to the marriage. The duke, tired of his imprisonment, readily undertook the office, and repairing to Rennes, actually reconciled the dutchess to the proposal; so that the match was concluded on the sixteenth day of December.

Argentré.
Mezerai.

Henry con-
vokes a par-
liament,
and declares
his resolu-
tion to invade
France.

While this affair was in agitation, Charles continued to amuse the English ambassadors, who were no sooner informed of the purposed marriage than they retired without taking leave, and reported their discovery to Henry, who was not a little confounded at finding himself so egregiously duped, and in such danger of losing the money which he had expended in the defence of Bretagne. Nevertheless, he had still another advantage over Charles, of which he did not fail to avail himself. That prince had projected the conquest of Naples; and as a rupture in England would have greatly interfered with the execution of his design, he sought to avoid it with the utmost care and circumspection. Henry, being well acquainted with his views, affected the warmest resentment of the affront he had received, and threatened vengeance against the author. As soon as his ambassadors had made their report, he issued orders for levying troops and preparing transports, and declared he would forthwith carry the war into the bowels of France. Maximilian breathed nothing but revenge, when he understood that he was deprived of his wife in such an outrageous manner: he, like Henry, threatened to lay waste the kingdom of France with fire and sword; and the archduke Philip demanded that his sister Margaret, who had been betrothed to Charles, might be sent back from Paris, where she resided for her education. The court of France however would not as yet comply with this demand, and seemed to disregard the threats

threats of father and son by the most supercilious neglect, All the attention of Charles was employed in averting the storm with which he was threatened from Spain and England; for, by this time, Ferdinand and Isabella had finished the war against the Moors with the reduction of Grenada, and loudly menaced France with an invasion. Henry seemed actually in earnest in his preparations for war. That his dominions might be secure on the side of Scotland, he concluded a truce at Coldstream with the ambassadors of James IV. sovereign of that kingdom. In the beginning of the year he assembled a parliament, to which he declared in person his resolution to recover the kingdom of France; as the inheritance of his ancestors. He reminded the members of the victories gained at Crecy, Poitiers, and Agincourt, by a small number of English over the most powerful armies of France; mentioned the different powers that were ready to co-operate with his measures in attacking that kingdom; demanded a supply suitable to the greatness of the occasion, exhorting the commons to spare the purse of the poor, and let the burden of the tax fall upon the wealthy. Though the commons had very little reason to grant a subsidy, considering how the last was embezzled, the conquest of France was such a temptation as they could not resist. They not only advised him to engage in this enterprize, which in reality he had no mind to undertake, but they supplied him with uncommon alacrity; and, according to his desire, empowered him to raise a benevolence from the wealthy part of his subjects.

A. C. 1491.

A. C. 1492.

Rot. Parl.

After the session broke up, the king received an embassy from Charles of France, with certain proposals, the nature of which never transpired; tho' in all probability, those envoys laid the foundation of that peace which was concluded before the end

Henry embarks with his army, and lands at Calais.

of

A. C. 1492. of the year. In the month of June, the queen was delivered of a second son called Henry, who succeeded his father on the throne of England. Immediately after that event, the king sent a reinforcement of two and twenty ships, and two thousand five hundred men, to the archduke Philip, who had marched against Philip de Cleves the leader of the revolted Flemings. That chief retiring to Sluys, was there besieged, and so hard pressed by the English auxiliaries, that he was obliged to sue for peace, and surrender the town to the archduke. Henry, who had no intention to prosecute the war with vigour, soon began to flag in his preparations; and sent ambassadors to France on pretence of manifesting his desire to terminate the dispute by fair means, before he would unsheath the sword of vengeance: at the same time, he dispatched envoys to summon Maximilian and Ferdinand, to invade France according to their engagements. But, he knew very well they had neither the inclination nor the power to comply with the articles of the treaty. Maximilian was destitute of troops, and Ferdinand had actually begun a negotiation with Charles, for the restitution of Roussillon. In the beginning of August, Henry issued new orders for fresh levies; and, in the course of the same month, he appointed commissioners to treat with the Scottish deputies at Coldstream, concerning a solid peace between the two nations. At length, he constituted his son Arthur prince of Wales guardian of the kingdom; and in the beginning of October repaired to Sandwich, where he embarked his army. Before he went on board, he received a letter from the marechal Desquerdes, proposing that a negotiation for peace might be carried on in England: but, the king resolved to negotiate in France, in order to save appearances.

He had scarce arrived at Calais, when his ambassadors returned from the king of the Romans, with an account of that prince's being altogether unable to fulfil his engagements; and in a few days after their arrival, he received letters from his envoys in Spain, giving him to understand, that Ferdinand had made peace with Charles, on condition of being re-established in possession of Roussillon. Henry affected great surprize and confusion when he learned these tidings, which were carefully promulgated, as preliminaries of the peace which he meant to conclude. He now permitted, though with seeming reluctance, the bishop of Bath and Wells, and the lord Daubigny, governor of Calais, to open a congress with the marechal Desquerdes at Estaples; and he himself began his march for Boulogne, which he invested on the nineteenth day of October. King Charles was then at Tours; and though he could not be ignorant of Henry's preparations, he had not even assembled an army to oppose the invader: a circumstance which plainly proves, that the whole transaction was concerted between the two kings; and that the siege of Boulogne was no other than an artifice to discourage the English army with a winter campaign, that they might be the less displeased with a pacification.

A. C. 1492.
Henry invests Boulogne.

Bacon.

In eight days after Henry undertook this siege, he received the articles of peace concluded between the commissioners of both kingdoms, to this effect: That the king of France should discharge the debt contracted by his queen for the defence of Brittany: That he should moreover pay to Henry the arrears of the pension which his father granted to Edward IV. That, as there was no sum specified in the obligation of the dutchess of Brittany to the king of England, this last should produce vouchers of his accounts to French commissioners, who should be sent

Peace concluded at Estaples.

A. C. 1492. sent to England for that purpose : That the two kings should name those of their allies whom they desired to comprehend in the treaty ; and that they should declare in four months whether they would or would not be comprehended : That, should the king of the Romans and his son Philip desire to be included, and afterwards the king of France presume to invade their country on any pretext whatsoever, the king of England should be at liberty to assist them ; but should they, on the contrary, attack the dominions of France, he should yield them no assistance : That, should the two kings approve these articles, they should mutually give hostages until the treaty could be signed and ratified. Though these articles were extremely agreeable to Henry, he affected to hesitate and start objections ; and at length referred them to the consideration of a general council, composed of all the noblemen and principal officers in the army. These were influenced and directed by some of his own creatures, and unanimously gave it as their opinion, that the conditions ought to be accepted. The king, pretending to be determined by the advice of the council, confirmed the treaty, which was ratified in like manner by Charles ; and both sovereigns undertook for its receiving the sanction of the estates of their respective realms. The nature of this peace plainly proves that the war was undertaken solely with a view to the payment of the money expended in defence of Bretagne, and the revival of the pension ; for there is not one word in the articles relating to Henry's title to Guienne, Normandy, and the crown of France, which was his pretence for beginning the war. It was stipulated that the treaty should remain in force till the death of both kings ; and that the successor of him who should die first should ratify the peace within a year after his accession to the throne. On the same day that the
peace

peace was signed at Estaples, the ambassadors of A. C. 1492.
 England and Scotland concluded a truce for two years at Coldstream. This treaty between France and England gave great umbrage to Henry's subjects, who not only repined at Brittany's being annexed to the French crown, but also complained that he had fleeced his people for the maintenance of a war which he undertook merely with a view to fill his own coffers. The nobility and officers who had sold or mortgaged their estates, in hope of preferment in the service, scrupled not to exclaim that the king had plucked his people to feather himself. Henry was not at all disturbed by these murmurs, which he was enabled to disregard by the payment of seven hundred and forty-five thousand ducats for the expence of his armament, and the promise of five and twenty thousand crowns yearly, which were punctually remitted in the sequel. He forthwith raised the siege of Boulogne, and retreated to Calais, from whence he took shipping for England, and arrived in London on the seventeenth day of December. He was by this time become extremely odious to the English, who imputed the loss of Brittany to his avarice and neglect. They accused him of trepanning the commons into a grant of exorbitant taxes, on false pretences; of having extorted immense sums illegally, under the term of a Benevolence; of having concluded an inglorious peace with the king of France; of treating the queen harshly; and of depressing all those who had been well-wishers to the house of York.

A. C. 1492.

He was not ignorant of his people's discontent, and foresaw the storm to which he was afterwards exposed. A new pretender to his crown, more dangerous than Lambert Simnel, had started up on the continent, and assumed the name of Richard Plantagenet duke of York, second son of the fourth Edward,

Account of
 Perkin
 Warbeck.

A. C. 1493. Edward, supposed to have escaped from the Tower, after the death of his elder brother. This pretender was a youth of very engaging appearance and insinuating address, who is said to have been the son of one Osbeck, a converted Jew of Tournay, from whence he returned to London, where the impostor was born and christened by the name of Peter : king Edward being acquainted with Osbeck and his wife, stood godfather to the child ; who, from the delicacy of his person, acquired the diminutive appellation of Peterkin or Perkin. Edward himself is supposed to have had an amour with his mother ; and from his resemblance to that prince, he was thought a proper agent to personate the duke of York. After having resided some years in England, he was by his parents conveyed to Flanders, where he consorted chiefly with English company, so as to preserve his original language ; and as he grew up, he exhibited such accomplishments both of body and understanding as recommended him to the notice of Margaret dutchess of Burgundy, who resolved to play him off as a pretender to the crown of England. For this purpose she tutored him in private, until he was perfectly instructed with regard to the deportment he should assume. He was made acquainted with all the particulars relating to Richard duke of York, whom he was designed to personate, as well as with the stature and lineaments of his pretended father, mother, brother, sisters, and relations ; together with all the transactions of Edward's court which a child of eleven years of age might be supposed to observe and remember. He likewise received a minute detail of what passed while he was in the sanctuary and in the Tower ; the manner of his brother's death, and his own escape. When he was fully instructed, the dutchess resolved that he should openly claim the English crown ; but, in the mean time,

time, that her secret intention might not be prematurely divulged, she sent him to Portugal with the lady Brampton: there he continued a whole year, until Henry declared war against France: then she desired him by letter to take shipping for Ireland, and produce himself in that country, which was devoted to the house of York. He followed her directions without hesitation; and, landing in Cork, personated Richard Plantagenet, second son of Edward IV. He was immediately joined by a great number of partisans, and wrote to the earls of Desmond and Kildare, exhorting them to acknowledge his title, and join him with their vassals and dependants. Charles VIII. was no sooner informed of his appearance in Ireland, than he sent Stephen Tryon, who had been formerly in Henry's service, and one Lucas, as ambassadors to Perkin, to assure him of his protection, and invite him to his court. On his arrival at Paris he was honourably received, acknowledged as duke of York, and accommodated in a princely manner, till the peace of Estaples, when Henry endeavoured, without success, to persuade Charles to deliver up this pretender. The French king would not violate the laws of hospitality, though he promised that he should have no assistance from France in his designs upon the English throne. Perkin, being thus cut off from all hope of succour at the court of France, retired to Flanders, and addressed himself as a stranger to the dutchess dowager. Margaret affected to doubt his veracity, and examined him in public touching the reality of his pretensions; when he made such pertinent answers, and demeaned himself with such dignity of deportment, that she and all the spectators seemed fully convinced of his being the real duke of York. She forthwith acknowledged him as her nephew, distinguished him by the title of the White Rose of England, appointed

A. C. 1493. pointed a guard for his person, and treated him in all respects as the true heir of the English throne. When these circumstances were known in England, the people were extremely well inclined to adopt the imposture, partly through hatred to the king, but chiefly from a persuasion that Perkin was the real Richard Plantagenet. Sir William Stanley, lord chamberlain of the household, the lord Fitzwalter, Sir Simon Mountford, Sir Thomas Thwates, and others, engaged in a secret conspiracy to favour this youth's title, and sent over Sir Robert Clifford and W. Baily of Aldeburgh in Hertfordshire, to learn the truth of what was transacted at the court of Margaret dutchess of Burgundy. Sir Robert had several conferences with this princess on the subject. After having conversed frequently with Perkin, he wrote a letter to his confederates, in which he declared that he knew the person of the duke of York as well as he knew his own; and that this youth was undoubtedly the true Richard Plantagenet.

Henry endeavours to detect the imposture.

Henry was not idle at this juncture; he had received a confused intimation of the conspiracy, and employed emissaries abroad to insinuate themselves into the confidence of Perkin and his protectress, that they might learn the particulars of the pretender's birth and education, as well as the names of those who favoured him in England. That those spies might be screened from all suspicion among the partisans of Perkin, he caused them to be excommunicated at St. Paul's, by name, in the bead-roll of the king's enemies, according to the custom of the times; and he tampered with the chaplains and confessors of his nobility, in order to discover their secret inclinations. While he took these measures for discovering and defeating the conspiracy, he was equally industrious in finding out and promulgating proofs of the real duke of York's

York's having been murdered in the Tower. Sir A. C. 1493
 James Tyrrel, who had been one of Henry's plenipotentiaries in France, and his servant Dighton, said to have been concerned in that tragedy, were examined, and confessed the fact, as it hath been related in the history of the preceding reign : but, however, their account left the affair in some perplexity, and the king made no use of it in any of his declarations. Dighton however was set at liberty, and earned his pardon by divulging this tradition ; which, in all probability, was invented for the purpose. All the intelligence that Henry obtained abroad amounted to no more than the same detail which we have repeated ; and therefore it did not fully answer his end, which was to convince the world of the imposture : on the contrary, it served to confirm the opinion of many people in favour of Perkin, because it was so defective and ill attested. They concluded, from Henry's known sagacity, that if the youth had really been an impostor, he would have traced him from his cradle to his appearance in the character of Richard Plantagenet, in such a manner as would have left no doubt of his identity. They could hardly believe that Charles king of France, and the dutehess of Burgundy, would have prostituted the dignity of princes so far, as to bestow it upon a common adventurer ; and they took it for granted, that if the duke of York had been actually murdered in the Tower, king Henry would have been able to prove the fact so clearly as to confute the pretensions of any counterfeit. There was something very mysterious in the king's conduct upon this occasion ; for the intelligence he pretended to have received from his spies abroad, touching the life and adventures of Perkin Warbeck, was not published by proclamation, or in any other authentic manner ; but circulated in vague and contradictory reports by

Bacon,

A. C. 1493: the courtiers and their adherents. With respect to the death of the real duke of York, Henry's ambassador at the court of the archduke, when desired to produce the evidence, said his master declined that sort of proof, because it might be said he had tutored the witnesses. These circumstances, added to the uncommon jealousy he manifested towards the pretender, the great pains he took, and the sums which, contrary to his nature, he expended in countermining the efforts of Perkin, persuaded many people that the youth was not an impostor.

Rymer.

Sends an
embassy to
the arch-
duke Philip
to surrender
him.

Be that as it may, Henry found means to win over Sir Robert Clifford to his interest. He sent Sir Edward Poynings and Sir William Warham as ambassadors to the archduke, to complain of the dutchess Margaret as the author of this imposture; and demanded that Perkin might be delivered into his hands, as a pyrate or common enemy of mankind, who ought not to be protected by the law of nations. The council of the archduke, having deliberated on this demand, replied to the English ambassadors, that, in consideration of the archduke's friendship for Henry, no aid should be granted to the pretender; but that the dutchess dowager being absolute in the lands assigned as her dowry, he had no authority over her conduct. Philip was the more indifferent towards Henry on this occasion, as he had just concluded a treaty with Charles of France, who had delivered up his sister Margaret, with the counties of Artois and Burgundy; though he still retained some places, which he promised to restore when Philip should be of age. The ambassadors, in reporting the archduke's answer, gave the king to understand, that there was a collusion between that prince and the dutchess dowager, in the affair of Perkin; and Henry was so incensed at Philip's conduct, that he not only broke off all correspondence

dence with him, but also expelled his subjects from the dominions of England. The archduke resorted this animosity upon all the English who resided in Flanders; but their resentment proceeded no farther, because they were afraid of each other.

Mean while the king of England was exactly informed by Sir Robert Clifford of the correspondence which the dutchess and Perkin maintained with England. In order to crush the conspiracy before it should become too dangerous, he issued orders privately for arresting John Ratcliff, lord Fitzwalter, Sir Simon Mountford, Sir Thomas Thwaites, William Daubigney, Robert Ratcliff, Thomas Chressenor, and Thomas Ashwood, who were apprehended at the same time, tried; convicted of holding treasonable correspondence with Perkin, and condemned to die the death of traitors. The lord Fitzwalter was conveyed to Calais; where, in time, he might have obtained his pardon, had not his impatience of confinement prompted him to attempt his escape; in which attempt being discovered, he lost his head. Mountford, Ratcliff, and Daubigney, suffered the rigour of the law, but the rest were pardoned; and many others of the clergy, as well as of the laity, arrested on the same suspicion, were discharged without trial. The lord chamberlain Stanley was not yet apprehended, either because Sir Robert Clifford had not informed against him, or the king wanted further proof, before he should be brought to his trial.

The conspiracy being thus quelled in England, Henry resolved to convert his attention to the affairs of Ireland, where he understood Perkin had still some powerful friends and abettors. He appointed his second son Henry, an infant of two years of age, viceroy of that kingdom; and Sir Edward Poynings, his deputy, with a very extensive power

Divers persons convicted of a conspiracy; and executed.

A. C. 1494.

Sir Edward Poynings appointed deputy-governor of Ireland.

A. C. 1494. over the civil as well as the military administration. At his arrival in Ireland he set on foot a severe inquiry about those who were suspected of disaffection; and in a particular manner attacked the earls of Desmond and Kildare, to whom Perkin had written, when he first landed at Cork. The first stood upon the defensive, and eluded the power of the deputy; but the earl of Kildare was sent prisoner to England, from whence he was soon dismissed to his own country, with marks of the king's esteem and favour; Henry judging that, at such a juncture, he should gain more by acts of clemency and indulgence, than by the exercise of rigour and severity. In this opinion, he sent a commissioner to Ireland, with a formal amnesty in favour of the earl of Desmond and all the rebels of that country, resolving, if possible, by fair means, to stifle the very seeds of rebellion in an island where the house of York had such a number of partisans. While Poynings resided in Ireland he convened a parliament, which is famous on record for the acts it passed to the advantage of England, and the English settled among the Irish. One of these, still known by the name of Poynings's Act, decreed, That the parliament of Ireland could not be assembled until the governor and council should have made the king acquainted with the causes of its meeting, and received his majesty's permission, under the great seal. Another law imported, That all the statutes of England should be observed in Ireland; and these two acts are in force at this day.

Hist. of Ireland.

Henry's avarice and extortion.

Henry's avarice increased to such a degree of rapacity, that he employed all his invention to find out pretences for amassing sums of money; and trumped up the most frivolous accusations against wealthy individuals, that he might fill his coffers at their expence. These were the genuine effects

of

of a covetous disposition, which was altogether insatiable; for he had no real use for the money he thus extorted. He was at peace with all the world. He had obtained from parliament two very considerable subsidies, of which he had expended no part but what was repayed with usury. He had enriched himself with divers confiscations, and received annually fifty thousand livres from the king of France. These resources, added to his ordinary revenues, rendered him the richest king in Europe: yet, not satisfied, he could not refrain from squeezing money out of his people by forfeitures on penal laws. The first person of note who suffered in this manner was Sir William Capel, alderman of London, condemned in the sum of seven and twenty hundred pounds, sixteen hundred of which he payed to the king by way of composition; but no part of Henry's conduct redounded more to his dishonour, than his prosecution of the lord chamberlain Stanley, to whom he, in a great measure, owed his elevation to the throne.

We have already observed that this nobleman favoured the cause of Perkin Warbeck, on the supposition that he was the real son of Edward IV. and perhaps he was influenced on this occasion by resentment against Henry, from whom he is said to have suffered a repulse, when he asked the earldom of Chester. The king certainly had reason to dread the ill offices of such a powerful nobleman; but in all probability, his greatest crime was his great wealth, which exceeded that of any other English subject, and captivated the heart of Henry; for the charge against him was construed into treason, by a very high-strained interpretation. In order to accomplish his aim, he directed his informer, Clifford, to come over from Flanders; and no sooner understood he was arrived in England, than he took up his residence in the Tower, that he might

Lord chamberlain Stanley convicted of high treason, and beheaded.

A. C. 1494. the more conveniently apprehend the delinquent. Clifford, according to his instructions, appeared before the council; and throwing himself at the king's feet, implored his clemency, which he said he would deserve by declaring all he knew of the conspiracy. Henry promised to pardon him, on that condition: then he proceeded to impeach sundry persons, and among the rest the lord chamberlain. The king affected great surprize at this declaration, bidding him take heed; and threatening him with death, should his accusation be found false and malicious. Clifford persisted in the charge; and the chamberlain was immediately put under arrest. Next day, being examined before the council, he owned what was laid to his charge, and was condemned on his own confession; though his whole crime amounted to no more than that he had said, he would never bear arms against Perkin Warbeck, was he certain that the youth was really the son of Edward IV. Perhaps he thought himself secure in the service he had done the king, and the great credit of his brother, the earl of Derby, who had married Henry's mother. But he fell a sacrifice to his great wealth; and all the favour he could obtain was the respite of a few weeks, that he might prepare himself for death, which he did not suffer till the beginning of the following year; when his post of chamberlain was filled with Giles lord Dawbeny, a nobleman of approved valour and sufficiency. The king found in Stanley's castle of Holt forty thousand marks of money, and plate, besides jewels, furniture, cattle, and effects to an immense value; and an estate of three thousand pounds a year. With this booty he consoled himself for the secret curses of his people, who not only detested his avarice and ingratitude, but were overwhelmed with consternation at the fate of the chamberlain, who had been condemned for that of which very few

few English subjects were innocent; namely, for A. C. 1494. preferring the right of the house of York to that of the reigning king. What augmented their fear was their perceiving that Henry maintained spies to watch the conduct of the chamberlain; and, in all probability, followed the same practice with other noblemen, who durst no longer communicate their sentiments, lest those whom they trusted as friends, should turn out informers, and betray their confidence: but, what they durst not impart to their intimates, they vented in severe libels and satires against the judges, the council, and the king himself; who was so provoked by those sarcasms, that he ordered five mean persons detected in dispersing the papers, to be executed as traitors. Ibid.

In the course of this year, his favourite Richard Fox bishop of Bath and Wells was translated to the see of Durham; and the king's son Henry was created duke of York: he was at the same time made knight of the Bath, and several noblemen and persons of rank were likewise admitted into that order. Young Henry was afterwards appointed warden of the northern Marches, for defence of which the earl of Surrey began to levy forces, as the king had some reason to doubt the friendship of James IV. king of Scotland. In the A. C. 1495. summer, king Henry, in order to convince the world, that the proceedings against Sir William Stanley had not at all diminished his regard for his brother the earl of Derby, or his affection for his own mother the wife of that nobleman, made an excursion to the earl's house at Latham, where he stayed three days, and seemed very well pleased with his entertainment. From thence he made a progress through Yorkshire; and while he was absent from the southern parts of this kingdom, Perkin Warbeck resolved to try his fortune in England. Being supplied with some troops and vessels

A. C. 1495.

Perkin
Warbeck
makes an
attempt
upon the
coast of
Kent,

by the dutcheſs of Burgundy, he ſet ſail in July, and arriving on the coaſt of Kent near Sandwich, landed ſome of his people, to ſound the inclinations of the natives. Theſe endeavoured to cajole the Kentiſhmen, by aſſuring them that there was a ſtrong armament fitted out in Flanders for ſupporting the title of the duke of York ; but the Engliſh perceiving they were all foreigners and freebooters, inſtead of joining them, conſulted the gentlemen of the county, who adviſed them to allure Perkin aſhore with fair promiſes, and then make ſure of his perſon. They accordingly took to their arms, and marching down to the ſea-ſide, invited the pretender to land, with aſſurances of riſking their lives in his ſervice. But, he was diſſuaded from truſting himſelf in their hands, by his ſecretary Frien, who from their delaying this declaration ſo long, and then appearing in regular bands, concluded they were part of Henry's forces. On this ſuppoſition he hindered Perkin from landing in perſon. The Engliſh finding he ſuſpected their deſign, fell upon thoſe whom he had ſent on ſhore, and put them all to the ſword, except about one hundred and fifty, who were brought priſoners to London, and hanged in different parts of the coaſt by the king's order: mean while Perkin, ſeeing the diſaſter of his people, hoiſted ſail and returned to Flanders.

Transac-
tions in par-
liament.

The king returning from his progreſs in the north, aſſembled a parliament on the thirteenth day of October ; and divers laws were made for the eaſe and convenience of the ſubject. Among theſe the moſt remarkable was a ſtatute, ordaining, That no perſon aſſiſting, in arms or otherwiſe, the king for the time being, ſhould be afterwards called to account, or attainted on that accuſation. This ſtatute appears at firſt ſight to have been enacted in favour of the people ; but, in reality it was calculated

iated to hinder individuals from prying too narrowly into the king's title, which they would have no longer occasion to investigate, as this provision was made for their safety. There was another law passed for obliging those who had complied with the tax called Benevolence, to pay their arrears within a certain time; an act which brought large sums into the king's coffers, as great part of the tax remained unpayed on account of the short duration of the French war, for the maintainance of which it was granted: the archbishop of Canterbury owed fifteen hundred pounds of his proportion.

During the session of this parliament, Henry received intelligence that Perkin Warbeck had landed in Ireland, where he expected to find effectual support from the friends of the house of York, from whom he had formerly met with a favourable reception. But, by this time, the king and his deputy Poynings, had taken such prudent measures to prevent any disturbance in that kingdom, that no person of any consequence declared in his behalf; so that his friends advised him to solicit succour of James king of Scotland, who was upon very indifferent terms with Henry. The dutchess of Burgundy had entered into a secret negotiation with that prince, who, in all probability, had engaged to assist him before he sailed from Flanders; and the youth is said to have been recommended to his protection by Maximilian, who had succeeded his father Frederick as emperor of Germany, the archduke Philip, and Charles king of France. Perkin, seeing no hopes of being supported in Ireland, and Henry having put the whole coast of England in a posture of defence, sailed to Scotland, and repairing to Edinburgh, demanded an audience of James, in quality of duke of York. Being accordingly admitted to that king's presence,

Perkin
Warbeck
lands in
Ireland.

From
whence he
repairs to
Scotland,

Buchanan,

he

A. C. 1495. he in a public speech recapitulated the vicissitudes of fortune he had undergone, and implored his friendship and assistance. James received him with great hospitality, acknowledged him as the son of Edward IV. bestowed upon him in marriage his own kinswoman Catherine Gordon, daughter to the earl of Huntley, one of the most beautiful and accomplished young ladies of the age; and promised to support his pretensions with the whole power of his kingdom. James was knight-errant enough to espouse the cause of a prince in distress, without any other motive than that of glory: this however, was reinforced by the recommendation of Charles the French king, whose interest it was, in a particular manner, to embroil Henry at home, that he might not be at leisure to join a league of the Italian princes and states, which was formed to oppose his designs upon the kingdom of Naples.

French
king's expe-
dition to
Naples.

Charles had passed the Alps at the invitation of Ludovico Sforza, nephew to John Galeazo duke of Milan. He entered Italy without opposition, obliged Peter de Medicis, who governed the republic of Florence, to surrender four of his strongest places into his hands, and accommodate him with a sum of money. He made a triumphal entry into that capital, where he published a manifesto, explaining his pretensions to the kingdom of Naples: then he repaired to Rome, of which he took possession, while pope Alexander VI. shut himself up in the castle of St. Angelo, for the security of his person. After having garrisoned the best places in the ecclesiastical state, and received cardinal Cæsar Borgia the pope's bastard as an hostage, he began his march from Rome to Naples. Alphonso king of that realm, was so terrified at his approach, that he resigned the crown to his son Ferdinand, and retired to a monastery, in which he died before the end of the year. His son advanced towards the
frontiers,

frontiers, in order to stop the progress of Charles ; A. C. 1495. but was abandoned by his forces, and returning to Naples, was refused admittance. In this extremity he retired to the little island of Ischia, after having left garrisons in the castles that commanded his capital. Mean while the French king continued his march ; was received into Capua ; all the other towns of the kingdom submitted to his power : the city of Naples opened its gates at his approach : and, in a few days, he made himself master of the castles. He was so intoxicated by such a torrent of success, that he neglected to take proper measures for the preservation of his conquests. His soldiers became extremely odious to the inhabitants of Naples. As he had not troops sufficient to garrison all the towns that had submitted, they gradually fell off, and declared for their own sovereign ; and a powerful league was formed against him by the pope, the emperor, the king of Spain, the archduke, the king of Naples, the republic of Venice, and his old friend Ludovico Sforza, who had by this time poisoned his uncle, and succeeded to the duchy of Milan ; so that he had no farther occasion for the friendship of Charles. Thus circumstanced, he thought it high time to retreat to his own dominions ; but, the allies had already assembled an army of forty thousand men, and posted themselves at Fornova, in order to dispute his passage. Though inferior in number he gave them battle without hesitation, and obtained a victory, by which he made his retreat good. In the mean time, Naples submitted to its own king Ferdinand, and almost all the other towns of that kingdom followed the example of the capital. The duke de Montpensier, whom Charles had left with a small body of forces in the place, retired into one of the castles, where, after sustaining a siege of three months, he was obliged to capitulate. Thus

Mezerai.

Bern. Corio,
Hist. de Mi-
lano.
Charles

A. C. 1495. Charles lost the kingdom of Naples in as short a time as he had expended in the conquest of it. He formed several projects in the sequel for retrieving his acquisition; but such difficulties occurred, that they were never put in execution.

Treaty between England and the archduke Philip.

About this period the emperor Maximilian visited the Low Countries, the government of which he resigned to his son Philip, though he was not yet of age; and this young prince, about the latter end of the year, sent an embassy to Henry, desiring that the treaty of commerce between his dominions and England might be renewed. As this proposal was no less advantageous to the English than to the Flemings, they succeeded without difficulty in their negotiation. In the month of February, a treaty of peace and perpetual friendship was concluded between the two sovereigns; and the commerce was regulated to the satisfaction of both nations. By one of the articles of this treaty, Philip engaged to hinder the dutchess dowager of Burgundy, from giving shelter or protection to the rebellious subjects of the king: and by another, it was stipulated, That a vessel belonging to the subjects of either prince, shipwrecked on the coast of England, or the Low Countries, should not be liable to confiscation, provided a man, a dog, a cat, or a cock, remained alive on board. The Flemings called this the Great Treaty of Commerce, not only because it contained many articles, but also in contradistinction to another, which was made in the sequel, and known by the appellation of the Bad treaty, because not so advantageous to the Low Countries *.

* In this year, the king granted a patent to John Cabot, a Venetian, and his three sons, for discovering new lands under the English flag, on con-

dition, that after all the expence should be deducted, he should receive one fifth of the profit. Act. Pub.

During

During these transactions, Perkin Warbeck insinuated himself so far into the good graces of the Scottish king, that he undertook to place him on the throne of England, and being assured that the English would declare for him in great numbers, as soon as he should appear in that kingdom, properly attended, he raised a numerous army, which he conducted in person to Northumberland, accompanied by the pretender. There he published a manifesto, in which he inveighed against Henry, as an usurper, tyrant, and murderer; and promised honours and advantages to those who should join their lawful prince, and help to destroy the robber who had deprived him of his throne. This, though a spirited remonstrance, had very little effect upon the English, who were nationally averse to the Scots, and by this time so intimidated by the success and severity of the reigning king, that they would no longer risque their lives and fortunes in behalf of a stranger, even though they believed him to be the son of Edward. James, seeing no hopes of being joined by the English, and unwilling to lose his labour, ravaged the county of Northumberland with fire and sword. Then Perkin, pretending to be touched with the misfortunes of the people, conjured him in public, with tears in his eyes, to spare his wretched subjects; protesting he would rather live the life of a fugitive and vagabond, than be the cause of mischief to his countrymen. The Scot answered, with a sarcastic smile, that he was too generous and tender of that which did not belong to him; and that he would make an excellent steward for his adversary. James hearing that an English army was on the march to give him battle, was loth to expose the immense booty he had obtained to the chance of an engagement; and therefore retired with expedition into his own country. Henry was not a little disgusted

A.C. 1496.

The king of Scotland enters England, accompanied by Perkin Warbeck.

Bacon.

A. C. 1496. gusted at this expedition, though it had not been attended with any important consequence. He knew his subjects were generally disaffected; that the Irish were strongly attached to the house of York; and that Perkin was still at hand, to profit by the first favourable opportunity that might occur. In order to secure himself on all hands, he granted a general amnesty to all the Irish who had declared for the pretender, that they might not be induced to rebel again by the fear of punishment. He employed Richard Fox bishop of Durham, to enter into a negotiation with James, as of his own accord, and treat of a marriage between that prince and his eldest daughter Margaret: he had already engaged in the league of Italy against Charles VIII. of France; and now he sent ambassadors to Ferdinand and Isabella, to confirm the former alliance, and renew the engagements for the marriage between his son Arthur prince of Wales and their third daughter Catherine.

A. C. 1497. With respect to Scotland, notwithstanding the plan he had formed for a pacification with that kingdom, he would not let slip any opportunity of demanding a subsidy from parliament, which he therefore convoked in the month of January. In a speech to both houses, he expatiated upon the insult he had received from the king of Scotland; drew a pathetic picture of the miseries which the people of the North had undergone, in the time of a truce, when they had no reason to expect such hostilities; and declared, that the honour of his crown, and the duty he owed to his subjects, would not permit him to bear such an indignity, without taking signal vengeance on the invader. The parliament understood the hint, and voted a subsidy of one hundred and twenty thousand pounds, besides two fifteenths; which were no sooner granted than the assembly was dismissed. He did not at all doubt that

that his negotiation with Scotland would succeed ; A. C. 1497
 and therefore, that he might have the subsidy in
 his coffers before the peace should be concluded,
 he ordered his commissioners to levy it with all pos-
 sible dispatch. These collectors met with unex-
 pected opposition in the county of Cornwall, the
 inhabitants of which loudly complained that they
 should be saddled with such a grievous imposition,
 on account of some damage which had been done
 at the other end of the kingdom. These murmurs
 were encouraged by one Michael Joseph, a popular
 and factious blacksmith of Bodmin, and Thomas
 Flammock a lawyer of a very turbulent disposition,
 who assured the common people, that the siefs de-
 pending upon the crown were the proper funds as-
 signed for the maintenance of war ; that the pos-
 sessors of those siefs held them on condition of de-
 fending the frontiers ; that the king ought to apply
 to them, in case of an invasion from Scotland, and
 not pillage the kingdom under the sanction of par-
 liament. He said it would be shameful to submit
 to such imposition, which was the work of evil
 ministers, that made their court to the king at the
 expence of the poor people ; that they ought to
 take arms in their own defence ; without injury to
 any person whatsoever, go and present a petition
 to his majesty, intreating him to ease them of
 such a burdensome tax, and punish his pernicious
 counsellors, the chief of whom were archbishop
 Morton and Sir Reginald Bray, the two mini-
 sters whom he consulted in all his money tran-
 sactions. The populace being thus inflamed, the
 lawyer and the blacksmith offered to conduct
 them, until they should be headed by some person
 of quality, which they were assured would be the
 case ; and they forthwith armed themselves with
 such weapons as they could procure. Under the
 direction of these two incendiaries, they marched
 through

Insurrection
 of the Cor-
 nishmen.

Bacon.

A. C. 1497. through the counties of Devon and Somerset, their numbers continually increasing in their route. At Taunton they murdered a collector, who had been very rigorous in the execution of his office; and this was the only act of violence they committed. At Wells they were joined by the lord Audeley, an unquiet and ambitious nobleman, who, being chosen their general, conducted them to Salisbury and Winchester, without allowing them to do the least injury to the places through which they passed. Instead of marching directly to London, according to their original design, they turned off towards Kent, in hope of being joined by the people of that county, who were said to be very zealous for the liberty of the subject: but they were disappointed in their expectation. The noblemen and freeholders of Kent had taken such precautions to prevent an insurrection, that the Cornishmen were not joined by one person in the county: a circumstance which discouraged a great number of the insurgents to such a degree, that they retired to their own habitations. The rest, however, animated by the backwardness of the king, who had made no attempt to stop their progress, continued their march, boasting that they would either give him battle or take London under his eye. With this resolution they proceeded as far as Blackheath, and encamped between Eltham and Greenwich.

When the king first heard of this insurrection he had already raised an army for the Scottish war, and given the command of it to the lord chamberlain Daubeney; but now he resolved to keep the best part of the troops in the southern part of the kingdom, and sent the earl of Surrey with a detachment to guard the northern frontiers. Understanding that the rebels did not waste the country in their march, he continued inactive, that he might judge of the disaffection that prevailed in the

counties

A. C. 1497.

counties through which they passed, by the number that would join them in their route : he was not without hope that they would disperse of themselves, tired of the length and hardships of their march ; and, should they proceed to the neighbourhood of London, he foresaw that they would be more easily and effectually crushed, at such a distance from their own country, than they could have been in the western parts of England. The citizens of London were overwhelmed with consternation at their approach, until they saw the king exert himself in earnest for their defence, and even place himself between them and the danger. He no sooner understood that they had encamped at Blackheath, than he divided his army into three bodies, one of which, commanded by the earl of Oxford, marched round the hill, in order to cut-off their retreat, and attack them in the rear, should it be found necessary to practise that expedient. The second, under the conduct of the lord Daubeney, was destined to charge them in the front ; and Henry himself, with the third division, encamped in St. George's fields, with a view to reinforce the others occasionally, or throw himself into London, in case of mischance. These dispositions being made, he declared that he would give the rebels battle on Monday, though his intention was to engage them on Saturday, which he deemed fortunate in all his enterprizes. By this feint he hoped to find them unprepared ; and it succeeded according to his wish. On the twenty-second day of June, towards the close of day, the lord Daubeney marched towards them, in order of battle. Having defeated an advanced guard at Deptford-bridge, where they made a vigorous stand, he ascended the hill, and found them pretty far in the heath, drawing up in battalia, not without manifest confusion ; for they did not expect to be attacked till Monday, and in that no-

They are
defeated on
Blackheath.

A. C. 1497. tion suffered themselves to be surprised. Nevertheless, they fought with uncommon courage, tho' in a tumultuary manner, and killed above three hundred of the king's soldiers, with arrows of a very uncommon length. The lord Daubeney attacked them with such fury and precipitation, that he was taken prisoner in the beginning of the action, but immediately rescued by the valour of his men, who charged with irresistible fury, and the rebels were routed with great slaughter; for when they attempted to fly, they found themselves intercepted by the earl of Oxford's division. The lord Audeley, Flammock, and the blacksmith were taken; and of sixteen thousand, to which their number amounted, two thousand fell in the field of battle: as for the rest, they submitted to the king's pleasure. Audeley was beheaded on Tower-hill; Flammock and the blacksmith suffered at Tyburn, the latter expressing great satisfaction that his name should be famous in after-times; and all the rest were pardoned by proclamation.

Treaty of
peace be-
tween Hen-
ry and the
king of
Scotland.

While Henry was employed in quelling this rebellion, the king of Scotland, judging this a favourable opportunity, made a second irruption into England, and invested the castle of Norham; but the earl of Surrey marching to its relief, he retired to his own country, whither he was pursued by the English general, who took the castle of Ayton, situated between Berwick and Edinburgh. The king of England desired nothing more than a peace with James, by which he would not only be freed from his apprehension of Perkin Warbeck, but also be enabled to save the subsidy in his own coffers: but he was afraid to make the first overtures, lest he should meet with a repulse. In reflecting upon this subject, he bethought himself of a fit agent for negotiating a peace between the two nations, without his suffering in point of honour.

This

This was Don Pedro D'Ayala the Spanish ambassador, sent by Ferdinand and Isabella to conclude the contract of marriage between the prince of Wales and the infanta Catherine. This envoy, who enjoyed a great share of Henry's confidence, undertook to visit the king of Scotland, and as from himself propose an accommodation. He accordingly set out for Edinburgh, and executed his commission, on pretence that nothing would afford more pleasure to his master the king of Spain, than to see two monarchs, who were his friends and allies, live in good understanding with each other. He found the Scottish king so well disposed to a treaty, that he wrote to Henry, assuring him of success; and a congress was immediately opened at Ayton, under the mediation of this ambassador. The greatest difficulty that occurred was on the subject of Perkin Warbeck, whose person Henry demanded, and whom James positively refused to deliver. The bishop of Durham proposed an interview between the two kings at Newcastle; but the Scot rejected this proposal, observing, that how desirous soever he might be of peace, he would not go and beg it in his enemy's country. At length both sides agreed that James should honourably dismiss the pretended duke of York, and afterwards proceed with the negotiation, as if Perkin had never been in Scotland. In pursuance of this convention, that monarch told this adventurer, that he had done every thing in his power to support him in his pretensions; that he had twice entered England at the head of an army; but that, as the English had refused to espouse his cause, he could not expect that the Scots would, without their concurrence, be able to establish him on the throne of England. He therefore advised him to form some more feasible plan, and chuse some other country for the place of his residence: at the same time he

Bacon.

Bacon.

A. C. 1497. assured him, that he would punctually fulfil his promise; that he should not repent of having put himself into his hands; for he should be honourably accommodated with ships and necessaries for his voyage. Perkin bore his misfortune with a good grace; thanked the king of Scotland for the protection and other favours he had enjoyed from his bounty; and desired that he and his wife might be conveyed to Ireland. James complied with his request; and he arrived at Cork, where he still found friends and adherents. He had no sooner quitted Scotland, than the ambassadors at Aytoun signed a treaty of truce for seven years, importing, That the two kings should not make war upon each other by themselves, their subjects, or any other person whatsoever: That certain points about which the ambassadors could not agree, should be referred to the arbitration of Ferdinand and Isabella: And that the truce should be prolonged till one year after the death of that party who should die before the other. But at this treaty no mention was made of the marriage between James and Henry's daughter, which afterwards took effect, and gave birth to the union of the two kingdoms.

Aymar.

A. C. 1498. Henry was by this convention secured from a Scottish invasion, and found himself at peace with all the princes in Europe. Since the treaty of Estaples, no quarrel had arisen between him and Charles king of France, who, dying at this period, was succeeded by the duke of Orleans, under the name of Lewis XII. This prince was no less disposed to maintain an amicable intercourse with Henry. He turned all his views towards Italy; and therefore found it convenient to live upon good terms with the king of England, who might have defeated all his projects, by making a diversion in Picardy. He no sooner mounted the throne of France, than he procured a dissolution of his marriage

riage with Jane, daughter of Lewis XI. in order to espouse Anne of Brittany, widow of his predecessor. Without such an expedient, he might have seen that dutchy once more separated from France, and in the power of some foreign family.

A. C. 1498.
Lewis XII.
of France
marries his
predecessor's
widow.

Mezerai.

Though the king of England had nothing to fear from foreign enemies *, he was once more exposed to the danger of a domestic insurrection. His clemency to the Cornish insurgents, who had payed two or three shillings each for their ransom, instead of reconciling them to his government, served only to excite new disturbances. When they returned to their own country, they publicly proclaimed, that the gentleness with which they had been treated was not owing to the king's mercy, but his apprehension of his own subjects, three fourths of whom were of the same sentiments which they professed. These insinuations persuading their friends and neighbours that the whole kingdom was ready to take arms against Henry, they began to assemble in companies, and concert measures for making another attempt against the government. Some of the most zealous among them, understanding that Perkin Warbeck was in Ireland, proposed that he should be invited over; and chosen general of their intended expedition. They accordingly sent a deputation to tell him, that if he would repair to Cornwall he would find considerable succours, which, with the assistance of his other

* In the course of this year, the king granted another patent to Sebastian Cabot, the Venetian, for the discovery of new lands; and he embarking at Bristol, discovered Newfoundland and North America, from whence he brought home three native Indians. This voyage he performed about six years after the islands of the West-Indies had been discovered by Christopher

Columbus, who, in all probability, would have been retained in the service of Henry, and annexed that country to the crown of England, had not his brother Bartholomew, whom he sent to London with his proposals, been taken by pirates, and met with such disasters, as retarded his application to the king, until Christopher had engaged with Ferdinand and Isabella.

A. C. 1498. friends, would, in all probability, establish him on the throne of England. Perkin, finding himself without resource, and abandoned by all those foreign powers who had formerly countenanced his projects, accepted the invitation, by the advice of his three chief counsellors, namely, a bankrupt mercer called Herne, one Skelton a taylor, and a scrivener of the name of Aisle. He forthwith embarked with about seventy men in four small vessels, and, arriving at Whitland-Bay, in September, repaired to Bodmin, where the former insurrection had begun. There being joined by about three thousand men, he published a proclamation, in which he assumed the title of Richard IV. king of England, inveighed bitterly against Henry Tudor; and exhorted the people, with promise of extraordinary rewards, to take arms, in order to depose the usurper. Then he marched to Exeter, with a view to establish a magazine in the place, and keep it as a retreat, in case of disaster. Being denied admittance, he tampered with the inhabitants; but finding them staunch to the established government, he resolved to take the city by assault. For this purpose, he provided scaling-ladders and beams to batter one of the gates, which he afterwards set on fire: his attempt, however, miscarried; and he was repulsed with the loss of two hundred men, which greatly discouraged his followers.

Perkin
Warbeck
arrives in
England,
and makes
an attempt
upon Ex-
eter.

Eaton.

When the king was informed of these circumstances, he expressed himself well pleased with the tidings, saying in derision, that now the king of Rakehell was landed in the West, he hoped to have the honour of seeing him before he should leave the kingdom. At the same time he hinted, that he should thankfully receive and requite the services of the noblemen on such an occasion. Several lords and gentlemen of the county of Devon
and

and the neighbourhood, assembled troops of their own accord, in consequence of this intimation ; and the king ordered the lord Daubeney to march to the relief of Exeter, declaring that he would follow him in person, at the head of a numerous army. Perkin, receiving intelligence of these preparations, raised the siege, and retired to Taunton, where he declared he would hazard an engagement ; but in the night he withdrew with some of his confidants to the sanctuary of Beaulieu in the New Forest. The lord Daubeney, being informed of his retreat, detached three hundred horse in pursuit of him ; but finding him already housed, they beset the sanctuary, until they should receive further orders. In the mean time the rebels, to the number of six thousand, finding themselves abandoned by their chief, submitted to the mercy of the king, who pardoned the whole number, except some of the ringleaders, whom he reserved to be hanged as an example. He afterwards sent a detachment of cavalry to St. Michael's Mount, to secure the lady Catherine Gordon, the wife of Perkin, foreseeing that if she was pregnant, the rebellion might be continued to another generation. When that lady was brought into the king's presence, he was so struck with her beauty and modest deportment, that he consoled her in very affectionate terms, with promise of protection, sent her under a strong guard to attend upon the queen, and bestowed upon her a considerable pension, which she enjoyed during his life, and many years after his decease. These steps being taken, Henry proceeded to Exeter, and in entering the city presented his own sword to the mayor, to be carried before that magistrate as a token of the king's favour and good-will to the citizens, who had behaved with such loyalty and valour, in defence of his government. Then he ordered the ringleader of the insurrection to be

Retires to a
sanctuary in
the New
Forest.

A. C. 1498. hanged in terrorem; and granted commissions to the lord Darcy and others, to impose fines upon such as were in any shape concerned in the rebellion. These agents squeezed the wretched people with the utmost severity, and rendered the king's moderation with respect to their lives, rather a curse than a blessing.

Rymer.

The disturbance being thus effectually quelled, Henry called a council to deliberate on the fate of Perkin, who still continued invested in the sanctuary; and after some debate, it was determined that the king should pardon him, on condition of his confessing and explaining every circumstance of the imposture, which he had so long maintained. His affairs being altogether desperate, he embraced the king's offers without hesitation, and quitted the sanctuary. Henry being desirous of seeing him, he was brought to court, where the king observed him from a window, but he would never admit him into his presence. He was afterwards conducted to London, and by Henry's order rode in public through the streets from Westminster to the Tower, and back again, amidst the derision and insults of the populace, which he bore with the most dignified resignation. Then he was confined in the Tower, where one of his principal accomplices was executed; and he himself signed a confession, which was printed and dispersed through the nation. But this was so lame, defective, and contradictory, that, instead of explaining the pretended imposture, it left it more doubtful than before, and induced many people to believe that Perkin Warbeck was really the son of the fourth Edward†.

Is committed to the Tower.

† About the latter end of the year, the king's palace at Shene took fire, and was consumed, with all its valuable furniture, to the great mortifica-

tion of Henry, who ordered it to be rebuilt under the name of Richmond, which it still retains.

The succeeding year began with an incident, which, tho' it at first seemed to threaten troublesome consequences, was productive of great satisfaction to Henry. While the truce subsisted between England and Scotland, some Scottish gentlemen happening to be at Norham, were insulted by the garrison, and a quarrel ensuing, some of them lost their lives. Complaint of this outrage being made to the English commissioners, who acted as conservators of the truce, the affair was treated with such contempt, that the king of Scotland sent ambassadors into England, to demand immediate satisfaction. Henry, who carefully avoided all causes of rupture with James, disowned the violators of the truce, and forthwith appointed envoys, to terminate the difference in an amicable manner. It was in the course of this negotiation, that James proposed a match between himself and Margaret the eldest daughter of Henry, than which nothing could be more agreeable to the king of England. After the truce was renewed at Stirling, with the addition of some new articles, Richard Fox, bishop of Durham, received a commission, to settle the conditions of the marriage, which was actually celebrated in the sequel.

A. C. 1498.

A. C. 1499.

Truce renewed with Scotland.

Rymer.

Tho' Henry had by this time triumphed over all his enemies, and the pope had granted a dispensation for the marriage of his son Arthur with Catherine of Arragon, Ferdinand seemed still averse to this match while Henry's title was liable to the least objection. That cautious Spaniard seemed to harbour some doubts concerning the imposture of Warbeck; and even hinted, that Henry's throne could not be firmly established while any prince of the house of York remained alive. The king of England was so intent upon the Spanish alliance, and so tired of the successive insurrections by which his reign had been disturbed, that he resolved to sacrifice

A. C. 1499. fice the youth called Perkin, as well as Edward earl of Warwick, to his interest and safety. Edward, the son of George duke of Clarence, had since the death of his uncle Richard been closely confined in the Tower, debarred of the benefit of air, exercise, and conversation; and kept in such ignorance, that he could scarce distinguish the domestic animals by name. Perkin Warbeck, who doubtless felt that desire of liberty which is so natural to the mind of man, and had reason to dread every thing from Henry's disposition, was permitted to converse with this hapless nobleman, as well as with the domestics of lord Digby, lieutenant of the Tower; and in all probability he was indulged with this permission by the connivance of the king, who hoped that his enterprizing genius, and insinuating address, would engage the simple earl of Warwick in some project, that would furnish a pretext for taking away their lives under colour of justice. Perkin fell into the snare, according to Henry's expectation: he tampered with Warwick, and gained over four servants of Sir John Digby, who are said to have undertaken the murder of their master, that they might secure the keys of the Tower, and escape with the two prisoners, to some part of the kingdom, where a new insurrection might be raised in favour of the pretender.

Polyd. Virgil.
Hall.

Perkin
Warbeck
tampered
with the
earl of War-
wick in the
Tower.

That the danger might appear the more imminent and pressing, so as to justify the steps which Henry intended to take, another disturbance was raised at the same time in Kent, where a young man called Ralph Wilford, the son of a cordwainer, personated the earl of Warwick, under the conduct and direction of one Patrick, an Augustine monk, who in public Sermons exhorted the people to take arms in his favour. This friar, who had been used as a tool by the king's emissaries, was arrested together with his pupil; and Wilford was hanged without ceremony,

They are
both tried
and execut-
ed.

ceremony, but the tutor obtained his pardon. This was the prelude to the fate of Perkin and the earl of Warwick, whose pretended plot being now discovered, Perkin was tried at Westminster, and being convicted on the evidence of lord Digby's servants, was hanged at Tyburn, with John Walter, mayor of Cork, who had constantly adhered to his cause in all the vicissitudes of his fortune. Blewet and Astwood, two of Digby's servants, underwent the same fate: but six other persons, condemned as accomplices in the same conspiracy, were pardoned. In a few days after Perkin's execution, Edward earl of Warwick was tried by his peers before John earl of Oxford, created high steward on that occasion; and being convicted of high treason, in consequence of pleading guilty to the arraignment, was beheaded on Tower-Hill. The deplorable end of this innocent nobleman, the last male branch of the Plantagenets, and the fate of Perkin Warbeck, who, notwithstanding all that appeared against him, was by the unprejudiced part of the nation deemed the real son of king Edward, filled the whole kingdom with such horror and aversion to the government of Henry, that he was fain to translate the odium upon his ally Ferdinand, by divulging that prince's scruples, for the removal of which he had been obliged to deliver the competitors for his crown into the hands of justice.

A. C. 1499.

Dugdale.

Bacon.

About this period, the peace of Estaples between France and England, was approved and ratified by the states of France assembled at Nantes; and confirmed by the authority of the pope, who issued a bull, denouncing excommunication upon that prince who should violate the treaty. Lewis was the more inclined to live upon good terms with England, as he formed the design to make himself master of Milan, by means of a league with the Venetians.

A. C. 1500.

Rymer.

He

A. C. 1500. He accordingly joined these confederates, and attacked Ludovico Sforza, sovereign of that dutchy, who was obliged to fly for refuge to the emperor, after having lost all his dominions. But the castle of Milan, and Genoa, of which he had been in possession, voluntarily submitted to Lewis. Pope Alexander VI. having published a jubilee for the beginning of the century, permitted those christians who lived at a great distance from Rome, to purchase the privilege of the festival, without being obliged to visit the churches of that city. In order to collect the sums arising from this indulgence, he sent agents into all the states of Christendom; and employed a Spaniard called Gaspar Pons, for that purpose in England, where he raised a large contribution. This nuncio was directed to inform the king, that his holiness had resolved to publish a crusade against the Turks, and even to go in person with the English monarch, the Venetians, and the princes of Italy, to attack Constantinople by sea, while the other powers of Europe should fall upon them in Thrace, Greece, and different parts of the continent. Henry plainly perceived that Alexander's drift was to amass money by contributions for this expedition; but, he dissembling his opinion, expressed the utmost zeal for the success of the enterprize; offered to furnish a large proportion of men and money; to serve under his holiness in person; and demanded, that some strong places on the coast of Italy might be put into his hands, to serve as retreat in case of necessity. He even appointed ambassadors to go and treat with the pontiff on this subject; and made such a parade of his zeal for the interest of religion, that the knights of Rhodes chose him protector of their order. But as this was a chimerical project, which Alexander had no intention to execute, he enjoyed the credit of his forwardness, without subject-

The pope
proposes a
crusade.

ing himself to the least expence; and the other potentates of Europe receiving the pope's proposal with great coldness and indifference, the whole scheme vanished into smoke.

England being grievously afflicted with a plague, Henry, after having several times changed the place of his residence, retired with his queen and family to Calais, where he received an embassy from the archduke Philip, desiring a friendly interview; and the king agreed to meet him in the church of St. Peter, which stands without the gates of Calais, as the archduke expressed a reluctance to enter a fortified city. At the time fixed for their meeting, Henry being informed of his approach, rode out to receive him on horseback, and Philip alighting, ran up to hold his stirrup; but Henry would not admit of such humiliation, and they embraced each other with marks of the most cordial affection. Then they entered the church, where they had a long conference, in which the archduke desired to live in friendship with the English monarch, whom he addressed with the appellation of his good patron, father, and protector. During Henry's residence at Calais, he was also visited by the governor of Picardy, and bailiff of Amiens, sent by the French king, to congratulate him on his coming to the continent; and notify his conquest of Milan. That prince, in order to testify his good will to the king of England, had solicited and obtained a bull from the pope, declaring him excommunicated, should he ever fail in the yearly payments to Henry, stipulated in the treaty of Estaples. The pope, at the same time, granted a dispensation for the marriage of James king of Scotland, with the princess Margaret, tho' on account of her tender years the consummation was postponed.

Henry being now at peace with all Europe, and his dominions enjoying the most profound repose,

Bacon.

The king has an interview with the archduke Philip.

Practises every method of extortion.

the

A. C. 1500. the avarice of his disposition had leisure to exert itself, and his desire of amassing became every day more and more rapacious. As he had no longer any pretence for demanding subsidies from parliament, he resolved to drain the party of Warbeck, until they should be quite exhausted. On the supposition that the adherents of this pretender were still subject to the rigour of the laws, he insisted upon their being indulged with separate pardons, which they did not at all solicit; and compelled them to pay largely for this indulgence. He appointed commissioners to set on foot a new enquiry about those who had in any manner asserted or favoured the revolt of the blacksmith, and that of Perkin Warbeck. These inquisitors were impowered to amerce at discretion every individual who should have the benefit of the pardon; and even to seize the effects of the deceased, should their heirs refuse to make a composition. Such oppression augmented the popular clamour against Henry, and was in a great measure attributed to the counsels of cardinal Morton archbishop of Canterbury, who died at this period, very little regretted by the English. He was succeeded in his metropolitan see by Henry Dean bishop of Salisbury; and now the nation perceived, that Henry's avarice and extortion were not the effects of Morton's advice, but qualities inherent in his own constitution. Never was king of England more hated by his subjects, though this hatred was mingled with fear, produced by his uninterrupted success, and the opinion of his great ability both as a monarch and a politician. All the powers upon the continent courted his alliance; and all the malecontents of England were overawed into forbearance.

Dean Abi.

Rymer.

A. C. 1507.

Notwithstanding this felicity, he was not a little disturbed by an accident which at this juncture encroached upon his repose. The earl of Suffolk,

nephew

nephew to king Edward IV. and brother to the earl of Lincoln, who had fallen in the battle of Stoke, chanced to kill a man in his passion ; and, though he was a branch of the house of York, the king consented to indulge him with a pardon ; but, in order to leave a stigma upon his character, he obliged him to appear personally, and plead his pardon in public. The earl being of an haughty disposition, resented this disgrace so deeply, that he retired in disgust to his aunt Margaret, dutchess dowager of Flanders ; and Henry was not a little startled at his retreat. In order to anticipate any designs he might hatch to his prejudice, he sent over emissaries, who by dint of promises and professions, persuaded him to return and be reconciled to the government. Henry's throne being now so firmly established, that there was hardly a possibility to shake it, Ferdinand king of Arragon, parted with his daughter Catherine, who arriving in England in the month of October, was married to Arthur prince of Wales, and the nuptials were celebrated at London, with great pomp and solemnity, on the fourteenth day of November, the prince being then turned of fifteen, and the lady about the age of eighteen. Her dower amounted to two hundred thousand ducats in money, jewels, and plate ; and a third part of the principality of Wales, dukedom of Cornwall, and earldom of Chester, was assigned to her as a jointure, provided her husband should die before his accession to the throne.

A. C. 1501.

Earl of Suffolk retires in discontent to the Low Countries.
Bacon.

Catherine of Arragon married to Arthur Prince of Wales.

This match was succeeded by the contract of another marriage, between the king of Scotland, and Henry's daughter Margaret, on whom her father bestowed a portion of thirty thousand crowns. The marriage treaty was ratified by the Scottish ambassadors at London, on the twenty-fourth day of January ; and the nuptials were solemnized by proxy, amidst the rejoicings of the people, who hoped

Rymer.

Contract of marriage between James king of Scotland and Henry's daughter Margaret.
A. C. 1502.

A. C. 1562.

hoped the mischiefs attending the mutual enmity of the two kingdoms would cease, by virtue of this alliance, tho' perhaps they did not foresee the union which it afterwards produced. When this affair was debated in council, an English nobleman observed, that if Henry should survive his male-issue, the crown would devolve to the king of Scotland; to which insinuation Henry replied, that in such a case Scotland would become an accession to England, as the smaller would always be swallowed up in the greater dominion. On this occasion a treaty of perpetual peace between the two nations was signed and confirmed, together with certain articles for preventing excursions on either side; but the consummation of marriage was, on account of the tender years of the princess, postponed till the following year, when the king accompanied her on her way as far as Colli-Welton, where he consigned her and her attendants to the care of the earl of Northumberland, who, with a considerable retinue of noblemen and ladies, conveyed her to the king her husband at Edinburgh.

Bacon.

Death of
Arthur.

The joy produced by this marriage was soon damped by the death of Arthur prince of Wales, who did not survive his nuptials above five months. He died at Ludlow-Castle, universally regretted by the English nation, who had conceived happy omens from his promising talents; and, in about three months after his decease, his brother Henry was, in the twelfth year of his age, created prince of Wales, earl of Chester and Flint, the duchy of Cornwall devolving upon him by act of parliament. During the course of this year the emperor Maximilian sent an embassy to England, to propose a league against the Turks, and to borrow money of Henry, who chose rather to present him with ten thousand pounds sterling, as a free gift for that purpose, than to engage in the league, or begin a
traffic

His brother
Henry cre-
ated prince
of Wales.

traffic of lending money to such a beggarly potentate. Nevertheless, he concluded a treaty of commerce, friendship, and confederation with him, to continue in force for one year after the decease of the last liver: Maximilian and his son the archduke were admitted into the order of the garter, and the emperor created Henry knight of the golden fleece*. A. C. 1502. Rymer.

About the beginning of February, Henry's queen Elizabeth died in childbed, very little lamented by her husband, from whom she had never received any marks of tenderness or affection. He even rejoiced at her death, as an event that freed him from a hateful rival in his title to the throne. He was now raised to the very summit of prosperity. He lived in peace with all his neighbours, and all domestic troubles had ceased. But he was resolved that his subjects should not share in his felicity; for his avarice becoming every day more and more insatiable, he employed all his invention in devising new methods of extortion. For these sordid purposes he retained two infamous ministers called Empson and Dudley, who followed the profession of the law, and practised all its subterfuges and chicanery, in oppressing the subjects with false accusations and imprisonment, until they were fain to purchase what was called a mitigation, with the best part of their substance. Such was their insolence, that they did not even observe the common forms of justice; but proceeded with the most arbitrary licence, to attack pretended delinquents, and try them in private, without fair examination or verdict of jury: and these acts of violence they exercised under the authority of the king, who shared the fruits of their A. C. 1503. Death of queen Elizabeth. The king uses Empson and Dudley as the instruments of oppression.

* On the ninth day of December 1502, the king granted a patent to James Elliot and Thomas Ashhurst merchants of Bristol, and to John Gonzales and Francis Fernandez, sub-
jects of the king of Portugal, to make discoveries by sea, and take possession of unknown lands, under the English flag, Act. Pub.

A. C. 1503. oppression. He even insisted upon their keeping regular accompts of this scandalous commerce, and maintained a kind of distributive justice, even in the practice of corruption †. He let slip no occasion for amassing money, howsoever mean or ungrateful it might be. One day when he was magnificently entertained by the earl of Oxford, to whose services he was in a great measure indebted for the crown he enjoyed, he perceived a greater number of domestics in livery than the law allowed him to maintain; and turning to the earl, “My Lord (said he) I have heard much of your hospitality, but it exceeds report. Are all these gentlemen and yeomen your menial servants?” Oxford answering, that they were retained upon such extraordinary occasions only, Henry affected surprise, and replied with some warmth, “By my faith! my lord, I thank you for my good cheer; but I may not endure to have my laws broken in my sight. My attorney must speak with you.” The earl was afterwards obliged to compound for this misdemeanor by the payment of fifteen thousand marks.

Bacon.

Earl of Suffolk forms a conspiracy against the king.

Such conduct in the king and his ministers could not fail to render them extremely odious to the people, who murmured incessantly against the government; and this discontent encouraged the earl of Suffolk, whose fortune was by this time greatly reduced by his own extravagance, to form new projects against the person and government of Henry. He had acquired a degree of popularity as the surviving branch of the house of York: he privately engaged some persons of consideration in his interest;

† We are informed by lord Verulam, that he had seen a book of such accompts, kept by Empson, and subscribed in almost every leaf by the king's own hand; among other articles he found the following; “Item,

Received of such a one five marks for a pardon; which, if it do not pass, the money to be repayed, or the party otherwise satisfied.” Opposite to this memorandum the king had writ with his own hand, “Otherwise satisfied.”

and

and then retired to Flanders, in hope of receiving countenance and succour from the old dutcheſs of Burgundy. The king, alarmed at his retreat, and eager to know his ſcheme, with the names of his aſſociates, repeated the expedient he had uſed in the caſe of Perkin Warbeck. Sir Robert Curſon, governor of the caſtle of Hammes, being properly inſtructed, abandoned his charge, on pretence of having been injured by the king; and retiring to Flanders, offered his ſervice to the earl of Suffolk. He acted his part with ſuch dexterity, that in a little time he inſinuated himſelf into the confidence of that nobleman; and ſoon diſcovered all his aſſociates. The intelligence was forthwith conveyed to Henry, who immediately iſſued warrants for arreſting his own brother-in-law William Courtney earl of Devonſhire, huſband to the princeſs Catherine, daughter of Edward IV. William de la Pole, brother to the earl of Suffolk, Sir James Tyrrel, and Sir John Wyndham. George lord Abergavenny, and Sir Thomas Green, were apprehended at the ſame time, upon ſlight ſuſpicion, but ſoon diſcharged. The earl of Devonſhire, and de la Pole, tho' nothing material appeared againſt them, were detained priſoners during the king's life. Tyrrel, who had been concerned in the death of Edward V. was beheaded, together with Wyndham; and ſeveral others of inferior note were executed as traitors. Henry, willing to be ſtill better informed touching the particular deſigns of the earl of Suffolk, took a very extraordinary method to maintain Curſon in the confidence of that nobleman. He publiſhed in St. Paul's church, the bull of pope Innocent VIII. denouncing the cenſures of the church againſt all thoſe who ſhould diſturb his government; and cauſed the earl of Suffolk and Sir Robert Curſon to be excommunicated by name. When this emiſſary had diſcovered

His accomplices are puniſhed,

A. C. 1503. all the earl's secrets, he returned to England; and was readmitted into the king's favour, which, however, he did not enjoy without the curses of the people, who abhorred his perfidy. Suffolk finding himself betrayed, led for some time a vagrant life in Germany, and at length returned to Flanders, where the archduke took him under his protection, after the death of the dutchess dowager.

The king projects a marriage between Henry prince of Wales and his brother's widow.

Henry being unwilling to refund one half of Catherine's dower, which he had already received, and extremely eager to touch the other moiety, proposed to Ferdinand that the young widow should be married to Henry prince of Wales, brother to her late husband; and the proposal was embraced by the lady's parents, provided the pope's dispensation could be procured. In the convention settled between the two courts on this subject, one reason alledged for demanding the dispensation, was, that the marriage between Arthur and Catherine had been formally solemnized and consummated; and pope Pius IV. the successor of Alexander, when he granted this dispensation, expressly mentioned in the bull, that Catherine in her petition acknowledged her former marriage had been solemnized in due form, and perhaps consummated. That this was really the case, we may gather from the declaration of Arthur himself to some of his attendants, on the morning after he had been bedded with the princess.

Act. Pub.

A. C. 1504.

On the sixteenth day of January the king assembled a parliament, on pretence of enacting new laws, but in effect to demand a subsidy for the portion of his eldest daughter, which he accordingly received to a much greater value than that he paid to the king of Scotland; so that he was every way a gainer by the marriage. That he was now quite absolute in his dominions, appears from the condescension of the commons, who chose for their speaker that very Dudley whom the whole nation detested

Complaisance of the parliament.

detested as the instrument by which they were so grievously oppressed. This complaisant parliament desired him to accept of forty thousand pounds, in lieu of aids, for knighting his eldest son Arthur, and the marriage of his daughter Margaret; and he, in token of his moderation and regard to his subjects, remitted one fourth of that sum, the rest being levied on the cities, boroughs, towns, and landholders of the kingdom. He likewise filled his coffers by an act of parliament passed in this session, attainting a great number of persons who had been concerned in the insurrections from the very beginning of his reign; as well as by another, disannulling all patents and grants enjoyed by those who either refused to appear, when summoned, in the king's defence against enemies and rebels, or retired from that service without licence. The patents of jails were likewise resumed and reannexed to the sheriffwicks; foreign manufactures of silk were prohibited; a law was enacted against the currency of diminished silver pieces, which underwent a recoinage: and several regulations were made for the maintenance of civil policy. Notwithstanding these sources of wealth, Henry, before the expiration of the year, issued commissions for a general benevolence, though he could not assign the least shadow of a reason for this imposition; and the city of London was fain to pay five thousand marks for the confirmation of its liberties. Not satisfied with the payment of the second moiety of Catherine's portion, the subsidy granted by parliament, the confiscation of estates, the profits of recoinage, the benevolence, and redemption of the city's liberties, he still continued to grind the face of the subjects by means of Empson and Dudley, who amassed great fortunes, as the tools of his rapacity.

A. C. 1504.

Difference
between
Ferdinand
and Philip,
on the death
of Isabel
queen of
Castile.

In order to make some sort of atonement for these extortions, and do something that might recommend him to the house of Lancaster, he ordered the body of king Henry VI. to be removed from Windsor to Westminster, where it was interred with great pomp ; and applied to the pope for a bull to canonize that monarch : but the miracles, attributed to that prince after his death, were so ill asserted, that his holiness would not admit him to a place among the saints, without such a consideration as Henry did not think proper to afford ; and therefore the design was laid aside. Isabel, queen of Castile, dying in November, her husband Ferdinand immediately notified her decease to Henry, giving him to understand, that she had appointed him (Ferdinand) administrator of the kingdom of Castile, for their daughter Joan, married to Philip archduke of Austria. This prince, being engaged in a war with the duke of Guelderland, could not immediately repair to Spain to take possession of this inheritance, and therefore connived, for the present, at the administration of his father-in-law ; resolving, however, to deprive him of it with the first opportunity. On the other hand, Ferdinand, by virtue of Isabel's last will, pretended to enjoy the administration till his dying day. This was a very interesting difference to Henry, who resembled Ferdinand not only in his disposition, but even in the nature of his situation. He knew the majority of his subjects looked upon his late consort Elizabeth as the rightful queen of England ; and that her right had now, of consequence, devolved to the prince of Wales, her son and lawful successor. He, therefore, considered the termination of the difference between Ferdinand and Philip, as a precedent for or against his own title. He was afraid that Philip would engage in a league with Lewis XII. and the emperor, in order to expel his
father.

father-in-law from Castile, in which case he should be obliged to support his ally against three powerful adversaries. He foresaw that such contention would involve him in new dangers, and drain his coffers, which he had been at such pains to fill, and in the contemplation of which he placed his chief happiness. This was the goal to which all his endeavours tended. He formed the design of espousing the widow of Ferdinand king of Naples, that he might enjoy the great dower which had been assigned to her in that kingdom: and perhaps he thought, that in consequence of this match, he might be chosen arbiter of the differences subsisting between the kings of France and Arragon, touching the territories of Naples. That kingdom had been conquered and divided between them, though this partition was attended by a quarrel, which produced two battles, and these proved fatal to the French interest in Italy.

A. C. 1504.

A. C. 1505.

Henry was so eager to know the disposition of the Castilians towards Ferdinand, and the particulars relating to the personal qualities and circumstances of the queen of Naples, that he sent three persons in whom he could confide; namely Francis Marsen, James Braybrook, and John Stile, to obtain intelligence on the spot. They set out on pretence of travelling for pleasure; but they were furnished with letters of compliment from Catherine princess of Wales to her aunt and neice the two dowagers of Naples; and they were instructed to send home an exact description of the complexion, features, stature, age, health, customs, deportment, and disposition of the younger queen; together with a circumstantial account of the dower she enjoyed. Howsoever he might have relished the qualifications of her person, he dropped his matrimonial scheme, when he understood that although the settlement of that princess was very considerable,

The king's
design upon
the widow
of Ferdinand
king of
Naples.

Hollingshed,

A.C. 1505. as established by the marriage contract, yet she had been reduced to an uncertain pension since Ferdinand had subdued the kingdom. The intelligence which Henry's agents sent from Castile, was not much more agreeable. Ferdinand still continued in the post of administrator, which he hoped to maintain for life, partly by his influence with Philip's counsellors, some of whom he had gained over to his interest; and partly by threatening that, in case the archduke should prove refractory, he would take another wife, and beget an heir to the kingdom of Arragon: but, at the same time, the nobles and people of Spain were better affected to Philip in right of his wife than to Ferdinand, who had loaded them with burthen some impositions, Henry's secret envoys gave him to understand, that there was actually a project of marriage between Ferdinand and madam de Foix, which would certainly take place, should Philip attempt to thwart his father-in law. They likewise discovered that the marriage of prince Charles of Austria with Claudia of France would never be solemnized, as Lewis XII. had resolved to bestow that princess upon the duke of Angoulesme, his presumptive successor; and that, if Philip and his queen should reside in the Low Countries, Ferdinand would endeavour to effect a match between the young prince of Austria, and Mary, second daughter of Henry king of England.

Mean while Philip and Joan were proclaimed king and queen of Castile at Brussels; though they were prevented from going to take possession of that kingdom by the war of Guelderland and the pregnancy of the queen, who was in a little time delivered of a princess called Mary, afterwards queen of Hungary. The war being happily terminated, and Joan in a condition to travel, Philip equipped a numerous fleet, and with his queen embarked

embarked on the tenth of January. In the channel they were overtaken by a violent storm that dispersed their ships; and the vessel that carried Philip and his consort was driven into the harbour of Weymouth in Dorsetshire. The country people, alarmed at the appearance of such a numerous navy, took to their arms. Sir Thomas Trenchard, advancing at the head of some troops, no sooner learned that the king and queen of Castile were landed, than he went to offer his respects to them in person, and begged they would do him the honour to lodge at his house, until the king should be informed of their arrival. Philip, perceiving that there was no possibility of their re-imbarking immediately, accepted this invitation with a good grace. Henry, being apprised of their landing, sent the earl of Arundel to compliment them in his name; to assure them that he would, with all possible dispatch, have the pleasure of embracing them; and in the mean time that they might command in his dominions. Philip, in order to shorten the visit, set out immediately for the court at Windsor, where he and his consort were received with all the marks of the most cordial friendship: tho' Henry was resolved to derive some advantage from the accident that brought them into his dominions. He proposed that as Philip had changed his condition, in becoming king of Castile, the treaty of commerce between England and the Low Countries should be renewed. That prince comprehending perfectly well the delicate nature of his present situation, did not think proper to make any objections to this proposal; and the treaty was renewed with some alteration in favour of the English: among other things they suppressed that article of the former treaty by which Philip's subjects were permitted to fish on the coast of England. These alterations were so disagreeable to the Flemings, that they

A. C. 1506.
Philip king
of Castile is
driven into
Weymouth
by distress of
weather,

and renews
the treaty of
commerce
with Henry.

termed

A. C. 1506. termed this convention Intercursus Malus, or, The
Act. Pub. Bad Treaty.

Henry pres-
ses him to
deliver up
the earl of
Suffolk.

This affair being finished, Henry proposed a marriage between himself and Philip's sister Margaret, widow of the duke of Savoy; and the king of Castile, being well pleased with the prospect of such an alliance, the marriage contract was immediately settled; Philip engaging to pay three hundred thousand crowns, in lieu of a dower to his sister, together with an annuity of three thousand eight hundred and fifty. Henry, not yet satisfied with these concessions, seemed altogether determined to detain his guest until he should deliver up the earl of Suffolk, from whose machinations he still dreaded some trouble and disquiet. He therefore took an opportunity when he was alone with Philip, to say with some emotion, "Sir, " you have been saved upon my coast; I hope " you will not suffer me to be wrecked upon " yours." When the king of Castile desired to know the meaning of that address, "I mean (re-plied Henry) that same hair-brained, wild fellow, my subject, the earl of Suffolk, who is " protected in your country, and begins to play " the fool, when others are tired of the game." To this explanation Philip answered, "I thought " your felicity had raised you above all such apprehensions; but, since you are uneasy at his " residing in Flanders, I will banish him from my " dominions." The English monarch expressing a desire of having him in his power, Philip told him in some confusion, That he could not deliver him up with any regard to his own honour. and that such a step would be still less for the reputation of Henry, as the world would imagine he had treated his guest as a prisoner. "I will take that " disgrace upon myself (said the king) and so your " honour will be saved." The other seeing he would

would not be denied, composed his countenance; saying, "Sir, you give law to me, and I will dictate to you in my turn; Suffolk shall be delivered up; but you will give me your honour that his life shall be safe." Henry agreeing to this proposal, he wrote a letter to the earl of Suffolk, assuring him that he had obtained his pardon; and the king confirming this assertion by another message, that nobleman returned to his own country, and was immediately committed close prisoner to the Tower. But the king had resolved that his royal guests should not quit his dominions until the earl's arrival; and, in order to disguise the restraint, he entertained them with feasting and pastimes: through which, however, Philip easily perceived his intention, and therefore expressed no desire of departing, until the earl was actually secured. Then he was allowed to prosecute his voyage, after having been detained three months in England, during which he was installed in the order of the garter, and conferred that of the golden fleece on Henry prince of Wales.

Bacon.

On his arrival at Castile, he and his consort were so much caressed by the Spaniards, that Ferdinand did not think proper to insist upon the administration, but retired to his own kingdom of Arragon. Philip dying in a few months after he took possession, his queen was so overwhelmed with grief, that she lost her reason; and the government of Castile reverted to her father Ferdinand, who is said to have used no endeavour for her cure, lest he should be sent back to Arragon. Mean while her infant son, Charles, was left to the guardianship of Lewis king of France, who discharged the office with uncommon fidelity, in appointing the lord of Chevres for his governor. But the disinterested conduct of the French king was not of long duration; for he not only renounced his engagement with

Philip arrives at Castile, where he dies.

A. C. 1506. with respect to his eldest daughter Claude, who was betrothed to Charles, but likewise spirited up the duke of Guelderland to recommence hostilities in Flanders, lest a league should be formed against him by the emperor, the archduke, and Ferdinand. The Flemings intreated Maximilian to come into their country, and take the reigns of government into his own hands, during the minority of his grandchild Charles. The emperor promised to comply with their request. In the mean time, he sent thither his daughter Margaret, widow of the duke of Savoy, in quality of *gouvernante* of the Low Countries: and that princess concluded a provisional treaty of commerce with Henry, which was ratified at Calais.

Rymer.

A. C. 1507. In the same place his ambassadors treated of a match between the archduke Charles, and Mary, the king's second daughter. This contract, signed on the twenty-second of December, imported, That the marriage should be consummated as soon as Charles should have attained to his fourteenth year; and that Mary's portion should amount to two hundred and fifty thousand crowns of gold: a sum which Henry could very well afford, considering his immense riches, and the method he took to accumulate treasure. His two spouses, Empson and Dudley, still continued to suck up the substance of his people; and, in the course of this year, commenced another severe prosecution against Sir William Capel, on pretence of misconduct during his mayoralty. He was fined in the sum of two thousand pounds; but, being hardened by his former sufferings, he refused to pay the money, and was committed prisoner to the Tower, where he continued till Henry's death. Knesworth, who had likewise been mayor of London, and both his sheriffs, were amerced in considerable sums on the same pretences; Hawes, an alderman, died of vexation

vexation occasioned by such a charge; and Sir Lawrence Ailmer, with his two sheriffs, being condemned to pay a fine of one thousand pounds, he refused to comply with the sentence, choosing rather to go to prison, where he remained until his place was supplied by Empson himself.

Bacon.

The king, in the midst of these acts of extortion, was seized with the gout, which gradually affected his lungs; so that he underwent severe fits of the asthma, notwithstanding which he continued to transact his affairs with his usual diligence, until his health was so much impaired, that he began to think of his dissolution; not that he neglected his worldly affairs, though he now began to convert his attention to the concerns of his soul. He still employed his endeavours for the accomplishment of his daughter's marriage with the archduke; and in the month of December it was solemnized at London, the lord of Berghes acting as proxy for Charles. At the same time this nobleman deposited in the hands of Henry a jewel, called The Rich Flower de Lys, by way of pledge for the sum of fifty thousand crowns lent to the archduke; and the emperor, as his tutor and grandfather, authorized the marriage, and the mortgage for the money, which he appropriated to his own use. As to the match between king Henry and Margaret of Austria, though the contract had been settled to the satisfaction of all parties, the king's disorder prevented it from taking effect. Finding his end approaching, he resolved to do something that might entitle him to the mercy of heaven: he seemed at length touched with the clamours of the people against Empson and Dudley; he distributed a large sum in charity; he discharged all prisoners that were confined for debts under forty shillings; and among other religious foundations finished the hospital of the Savoy, and a fine chapel in Westminster-abbey.

A. C. 1508.

Act. Pub.

Polyd. Vir.
gil.

Then

A. C. 1509.

Death and
character of
king Henry
VII.

Then he made a will, in which he layed injunctions upon his heir to make restitution of all that his officers and ministers had unjustly extorted from his subjects; and died at Richmond in the fifty-third year of his age, and the four and twentieth of his reign, leaving to his son Henry the crown of England †, together with eighteen hundred thousand pounds sterling in money, jewels, and plate, deposited in the vaults of his palace. Henry was tall, strait, and well-shaped, though slender; of a grave aspect, and saturnine complexion; austere in address, and reserved in conversation, except when he had a favourite point to carry; and then he could fawn, flatter, and practise all the arts of insinuation. He inherited a natural fund of sagacity, which was improved by study and experience; nor was he deficient in personal bravery, or political courage. He was cool, close, cunning, dark, distrustful, and designing; and of all the princes who had sat upon the English throne, the most fordid, selfish, and ignoble. He possessed in a peculiar manner the art of turning all his domestic troubles, and all his foreign disputes, to his own advantage: hence he acquired the appellation of the English Solomon; and all the powers of the continent courted his alliance on account of his wealth, wisdom, and uninterrupted prosperity. The nobility he excluded entirely from the administration of public affairs, and employed clergymen and lawyers, who, as they had no interest in the nation, and depended intirely upon his favour, were more obsequious to his will, and ready to concur in all his

† Henry VII. had three sons and four daughters; namely, Arthur, who died in the seventeenth year of his age; Henry, who succeeded him on the throne; Edmund, who did not live to the years of discretion; two of his daughters died in their infancy;

Margaret was queen of Scotland; and Mary had just been affianced to Charles archduke of Austria; tho' she married Lewis XII. of France, and after his decease, Charles Brandon, duke of Suffolk. Hollingshead.

arbitrary measures. At the same time it must be owned he was a wise legislator, chaste, temperate, assiduous in the exercise of religious duties; decent in his deportment, and exact in the administration of justice, when his own private interest was not concerned; though he frequently used religion and justice as cloaks for perfidy and oppression. His soul was continually actuated by two ruling passions, equally base and unkingly; namely, the fear of losing his crown, and the desire of amassing riches; and these motives influenced his whole conduct. Nevertheless, his apprehension and avarice redounded on the whole to the advantage of the nation. The first induced him to depress the nobility, and abolish the feudal tenures, which rendered them equally formidable to the prince and the people; and his avarice prompted him to encourage industry and trade, because it improved his customs, and enriched his subjects, whom he could afterwards pillage at discretion.

HENRY

H E N R Y VIII.

A. C. 1509.

Henry VIII.
ascends the
English
throne.

HENRY VIII. the sole surviving son of the late king, ascended the throne in the eighteenth year of his age, with all the advantages that such a young prince could enjoy. His kingdom was free from all domestic troubles ; his neighbours courted his friendship ; his coffers were full of money ; and he succeeded a prince, whose avarice served as a foil to his liberality : so that his accession to the throne could not but be agreeable to the English nation. His father, with a view to detach him from the consideration of state-affairs, had engaged him in the study of school-learning, and he made considerable progress in the languages, theology, and the philosophy of Aristotle. The consciousness of this learning, added to the impetuosity of a passionate temper, and the contemplation of his own personal accomplishments, which were really extraordinary, inspired him with such a share of self-conceit as laid him open to the penetration and artifice of other potentates. He was frank, open, and ostentatious. His father was not more penurious than he was prodigal ; and what was still more remarkable, the earl of Surrey, who had enjoyed the post of lord high treasurer in the former reign, on account of his resembling the king in parsimony and backwardness to part with money, still maintained his place, by his conformity to the expensive disposition of young Henry ; so that he seemed to change his nature with his sovereign.

While preparations were making for the funeral of the deceased king, who was interred with incredible magnificence, the new monarch retired to
the



HENRY VIII.

the Tower, in order to consult his father's ministers, A. C. 1509. about the measures necessary to be taken in the beginning of his reign. The lord Stafford, brother to the duke of Buckingham, was arrested upon some false information; but soon released, and created earl of Wiltshire. The bishopric of Durham being vacant, by the translation of Christopher Bambridge to the see of York, the king bestowed it on Thomas Ruthal doctor of law, and member of the privy council. He likewise confirmed an amnesty in favour of his subjects, which his father had granted on his death-bed: tho' this did not extend to all delinquents; for, he soon published a proclamation, inviting his people to prefer complaints against those who had oppressed them, on pretence of maintaining the prerogative; and immediately an infinite number of petitions was presented against Empson and Dudley, who, being examined before the council, were committed to the Tower, as victims devoted to destruction. As they had sheltered themselves in such a manner, under the shadow of the law, that they could not be condemned for their exactions, they were tried on a frivolous accusation, of a design to rebel against the reigning prince; and received sentence of death for a crime of which they were intirely innocent. Dudley was tried in July at London, and Empson convicted at Northampton in October; but the sentences were not executed, until the parliament confirmed them by an act of attainder.

*Empson
and Dudley
condemned
to death.*

The next affair that employed the king's attention, was his marriage with his brother's widow, which he had not yet consummated. Notwithstanding the pope's dispensation, young Henry, at the desire of his father, who had in all probability laid some scheme for deceiving Ferdinand, no sooner attained to the fourteenth year of his age,

NUMB. XLVIII. Z than

A.C. 1509.

than he protested in a formal manner against the consent he had given to this match; though this protestation was kept so secret, that it never came to light until it was thought necessary that the public should be made acquainted with the transaction. Ferdinand, as soon as he was informed of old Henry's death, invested the count de Fuenfaldia, his ambassador in England, with full power to renew the treaty of alliance which had been concluded between him and the late king; and at the same time, he ordered him to demand the confirmation and execution of that relating to his daughter's second marriage. When the ambassador delivered his memorial on this subject, the council was assembled, to deliberate and give their advice, whether or not the king ought to consummate the marriage. Warham archbishop of Canterbury, affirmed, that it was without precedent in a christian land; that he doubted, whether the pope had power to dispense with the former marriage; and therefore he looked upon this as unnatural incest. His opinion was strongly opposed by Fox bishop of Winchester, who insisted upon the unlimited power vested in the vicar of Jesus Christ; and expatiated upon the conveniencies of the match, as well as upon the danger of incensing Ferdinand, and the virtues of the princess, who declared she was still a virgin: and referred to the examination of matrons for the truth of her allegations. The king himself espoused the sentiments of Fox; and the archbishop desisting from his opposition, through fear of exasperating pope Julius II. one of the most enterprising pontiffs that had ever filled the papal chair, the council decreed, that the marriage should be consummated, though not before the princess should have renounced for herself and her heirs, her dower of two hundred thousand crowns, as a sum belonging to the king her husband. She complied with this

Polyd.
Virgil.

Henry consummates
his nuptials
with Catherine of Aragon.

article



WOLSEY.

article by a solemn deed; and the count de Fuen-
salida made a like renunciation, in the name of his
master Ferdinand, and his daughter Joan queen of
Castile. Then the nuptials were consummated; and the ceremony of coronation was performed on
the twenty-fourth day of June, immediately after
the death of Margaret, countess of Richmond and
Derby, the king's grandmother.

A. C. 1509.

A. C. Pub.
Their coro-
nation.

Henry, in the beginning of his reign, addicted himself wholly to pleasures and pastime, and those of the most expensive nature; so that the old bishop of Winchester was extremely chagrined at the dissipation of that treasure which Henry VII. had bestowed such pains in amassing. He complained loudly on this subject, and exclaimed in particular against the earl of Surrey, for encouraging the king in such excesses: but, perceiving that all his remonstrances were disregarded at a court which was become the seat of sensuality, and that his influence declined apace, he endeavoured to supplant Surrey, who was his rival in the king's favour, by introducing Thomas Wolsey, on whose capacity and attachment he could depend. This ecclesiastic was the son of an obscure butcher at Ipswich, who already began to distinguish himself by his uncommon talents and address; and the bishop of Winchester foreseeing, that he would soon insinuate himself into the king's good graces, procured for him the place of almoner to his majesty.

The king's
ex:ensive
manner of
living.Wolsey in-
troduced at
court.

In the course of this year, the treaty between England and the Scottish king was renewed and confirmed, by the ministry of the bishop of Murray, who had come to England, with compliments of congratulation from his brother-in-law, upon his accession to the throne. The emperor Maximilian sent an embassy of the same nature: and Henry appointed Christopher Bambridge archbishop of York, his envoy at the court of Rome, to which

A. C. 1509.

he had repaired, to solicit the confirmation of his holiness, upon his being translated to the see of York. It was the interest of the king of England to maintain an ambassador at Rome for intelligence at this juncture, when pope Julius was employed in forming a powerful confederacy of the European princes. He had laid the design of re-annexing to the holy see all the dominions of which it had been dismembered; and these being chiefly in the hands of the Venetians, he resolved to humble that insolent republic. His project was relished by the king of France, because they had encroached upon his dutchy of Milan; the emperor was very well disposed to concur in any measure by which he might regain some footing in Italy, which had belonged to his predecessors; and Ferdinand was glad of an opportunity to retrieve, without repayment, some places in the kingdom of Naples, which he had pawned to the Venetians for a sum of money. The duke of Ferrara wanted to recover Rovigo and the Polesin, which were possessed by the Venetians; and the Florentines were incensed against that republic, for having supported Pisa, which they wanted to subdue. These were the motives of the famous league formed against Venice, at Cambray, where the congress was opened, on pretence of accommodating the difference between Charles of Austria, and the duke of Guelderland. In order to deceive the spies of Venice, they at first concluded a treaty of perpetual peace between the pope, the emperor, and the kings of France and Spain: but, at the same time, they ratified an offensive and defensive league against the Venetians. In compliance with the conditions of this treaty, Lewis marched from Milan in the beginning of April, at the head of a numerous army; while the pope's forces entered Romagna, those of Arragon invaded Lombardy; the duke of Ferrara fell upon the Polesin; and

Account of
the league at
Cambray.

and the emperor remained at Trent, that he might be at hand to reap the fruits of their success. In the mean time, the Venetians took the field, under the conduct of the count de Petigliano, who engaging the French at Gieradadda, was intirely defeated. Lewis, in fifteen days after this victory, made himself master of Cremona, Pexhiera, Crema, Brescia, and Bergama: Vicenza, Verona, Padua, together with Friuli, and all the towns of Istria, submitted to the emperor. The pope's general reduced Ravenna, Cervia, Faenza, and Rimini; while the duke of Ferrara recovered Rovigo: so that in the course of one short campaign, the Venetians saw all their extensive territories reduced to the single city of Venice; and the five places in the kingdom of Naples, which had been mortgaged to them by Ferdinand. Their disaster was fatal to the Pisans, who, being no longer supported by that republic, were obliged to surrender to the Florentines, after a tedious siege, during which they were reduced to the utmost extremity. Lewis, having accomplished his aim, returned to France, after he had detached a body of troops to join the emperor, whose army was far from being in a flourishing condition. The French king's departure afforded some respite to the Venetians: they summoned up all their fortitude, to repair the damages they had sustained: they brought a new army into the field, which kept Maximilian at bay, and took Padua by surprize: they appeased the pope by submission; and detached Ferdinand from the league, by promising to restore his five towns which they possessed. By this time, pope Julius began to be terribly disquieted by the union that seemed to subsist between the king of France and the emperor; he concluded, that they had engaged in a secret treaty to subdue and divide between them the whole country of Italy. In order to pre-

A. C. 1509. vent the execution of this design, he made peace with the Venetians, on condition, that they should renounce all pretensions to the towns of Romagna, which the holy see had recovered. He resolved to secure Ferdinand in his interest, by indulging him with the investiture of Naples; to excite and foment a quarrel between Maximilian and Lewis; to bring an army of Swiss into the Milanese; and persuade the young king of England to make a diversion in Picardy.

Mezerai.
Guicciar-
dini.
Ist. de la
Legha dè
Cambrai.

A. C. 1510.
Henry's first
parliament.

Henry assembling a parliament on the twenty-first day of January, the commons petitioned for the repeal or mitigation of some late statutes, which had enabled the ministers to oppress the people; and the king willingly complied with their request. Then the parliament passed an act of attainder, condemning Dudley and Empson, without specifying the particular crimes of which they were convicted; though Henry did not grant a warrant for their execution until the month of August, when the clamour of the people was so loud against them, that he thought proper to sacrifice them to the public resentment, without further delay. During this session, Lewis of France sent over ambassadors to renew the treaty of Estaples, the term of which had expired at the death of the seventh Henry: and a new peace was solemnly concluded between the two kings, to be in force until one of them should prove the survivor. About this period too, Henry received from the pope, the Golden Rose, a consecrated present, reputed of great estimation, which was a prelude to the proposal he intended to make against Lewis. In all probability, Ferdinand acted in concert with his holiness; for, in the course of this year, he concluded a new alliance with the king of England, in which it was stipulated, That if either party should be attacked, the other should assist him, even though the aggressor might be his ally.

Empson and
Dudley at-
tainted and
executed.

New treaty
with Ferdi-
nand king
of Arragon.

This

This condition was altogether in favour of Ferdinand, and seems to imply, that he had already projected some scheme against France: for, Henry could have no prospect of being attacked from that quarter; and therefore by such a treaty he betrayed his own interest. But, indeed, he was so immersed in pleasures, that he paid very little regard to the political maxims of government. His whole time was engrossed by tournaments, masquerades, festivals, and concerts of music, together with tennis and dice, at which games he lost considerable sums of money to foreign adventurers, until he detected their frauds, and expelled them from court in the most disgraceful manner.

While his time passed so agreeably in these amusements, he left the care of the administration to his ministers, among whom Wolsey began already to enjoy a great share of his favour; for he was promoted to the deanery of Lincoln, and presented by the king with a fine country-house in the neighbourhood of London, which had belonged to Sir Thomas Empson, lately beheaded. The pope, having privately engaged in a league with Ferdinand and the Venetians, industriously sought an occasion of quarrelling with the king of France, by giving away a bishopric in Provence, contrary to his engagement with Lewis. When this monarch complained of the infraction, the pope denied that he had ever entered into any such engagement; and they gave one another the lie without ceremony.

Julius, being thus furnished with a pretext for a rupture, found means, by the bishop of Sion, to create a dissention between the crown of France and the Swiss, who, in a diet at Lucerne, declared for the pope, and resolved to send an army into the Milanese. His holiness was so secret in his negotiations, that Lewis, far from suspecting his intention was to form a strong league, which would

A. C. 1510.
Rymer.

Rupture between the pope and the French king.

A. C. 1510. drive the French out of Italy, believed he had no other design but that of seizing Ferrara; and ordered Chaumont governor of Milan to succour the duke of Ferrara, in case he should be attacked. The fleet of Venice and the pope's army, however, having attempted to surprize Genoa, the king of France considered the affair in a more serious light, and directed Chaumont to keep a watchful eye over the conduct of Julius, whom that general accordingly had well nigh surprized at Bologna. The pope complained loudly of this insult at all the courts in Europe, and in particular at London. He excommunicated the French generals; made another unsuccessful attempt upon Genoa, in conjunction with the Venetian gallies; sent for twelve thousand Swiss, who began their march for the Milanese, under the conduct of the bishop of Sion: but finding the passes strongly guarded, they returned to their own country. Lewis formed two successive treaties with Maximilian, by the last of which, they agreed to assemble a general council at Pisa, in order to depose Julius; and they actually gained over nine cardinals to their interest. Mean while, the pope and Venetians being joined by the Spanish army from Naples, his holiness invested Mirandola in person; and the place being reduced, entered by the breach as a conqueror. When Lewis complained of Ferdinand's having joined that pontiff and the Venetians, he excused himself by saying, that as king of Naples, he was a vassal of the Roman see, and in that quality could not refuse to defend the pope's person and dominions; but that, in other respects, he would not interest himself in the quarrel, but firmly adhere to the articles of the league of Cambray.

Particular-
dini.
Mezerai.

A. C. 1511.

Hitherto, Henry had not interfered in the affairs of Italy, or indeed in any foreign dispute that might interrupt his pleasure, which was now greatly augmented

augmented by his queen's being delivered of a son, who died, however, in a few weeks, to the unspeakable mortification of his parents. Ferdinand, with a view to engage his son-in-law insensibly in their alliance against France, dissembled his real design; and, on pretence of equipping an armament against the Moors of Africa, solicited a reinforcement of a thousand English archers. His request was immediately granted; and Thomas Darcy being created a baron, was nominated to the command of this small detachment. The Venetians sent ambassadors to England, under colour of thanking Henry for having used his good offices towards their reconciliation with his holiness: but their real design was to engage him in the projected league. The pope created Bambridge archbishop of York, a cardinal, and promoted Matthew Skinner bishop of Sion to the same dignity: in a word, the confederates spared no pains to gain over the ministers and agents of Henry; to persuade him, that the king of France was become too formidable by the conquest of Milan; and might, if not seasonably checked, form more important schemes to the prejudice of his neighbours. At length he gave ear to their remonstrances, and promised to join their association. He appointed commissioners to muster and arm the militia of the kingdom, on pretence of putting the nation in a posture of defence, in case it should be invaded; and that he might avoid a rupture with the king of Scotland, who he knew was attached to Lewis, he appointed envoys to regulate all differences, which had happened since the last treaty. James, however, found a pretext, in spite of all his precautions. Andrew Breton, a Scottish merchant, having obtained from his sovereign a commission to make reprisals on the Portuguese, who had plundered and murdered his father on the high seas, equipped two ships of war, with

A. C. 1511.

Act. Pub.

Henry listens to the remonstrances of the pope and his confederates.

which

A. C. 1511.

Quarrels
with the
king of
Scotland.Buchanan.
Ed. Herbert.Progress of
the war in
Italy.

which he made prize of all the Portuguese vessels that traded through the English channel. The ambassador of Portugal representing this conduct to Henry as an insult upon the English flag, he ordered two large ships to be fitted out, and bestowed the command of them upon the two sons of the earl of Surrey, who attacked the Scottish corsair, and took his vessel, after an obstinate engagement, in which Breton lost his life. The king of Scotland demanded restitution of the prizes, as well as reparation for an outrage committed against the articles of peace subsisting between the two kingdoms. Henry refused the satisfaction he demanded, alledging, that pyrates and corsairs were never comprehended in treaties; and James protested against this refusal, as an affront which he would resent the first opportunity.

During these transactions, Lewis made some advances towards a pacification with the pope; but all his proposals being rejected, he ordered Chaumont to carry on the war with vigour. That general, though inferior in number to the allies, commanded a body of such veterans, that they were afraid to hazard an engagement: at length he marched towards Modena, in order to besiege that city; and the pope, rather than it should fall into the hands of Lewis, ceded it to the emperor, who began about this time to act very coldly for the interest of his ally. Nevertheless, the army of the confederates being very hard pressed by Chaumont, Ferdinand, who still professed neutrality, proposed a congress at Mantua, which produced no other effect than a delay, that was very prejudicial to the French interest. After this ineffectual effort towards an accommodation, Maximilian, who was not yet altogether detached from Lewis, consented that the council at Pisa should be summoned in his name, to meet on the first day of September, and deliberate

deliberate upon measures for the reformation of the church, in its head and members. Not that Lewis was altogether free of suspicion: he was informed of a conference at Bologna between the pope and the bishop of Gurch, the emperor's minister; and Ferdinand's great preparations filled him with jealousy and distrust. Thus alarmed, he ordered Trivulci, who had succeeded to the command of his army on the death of Chaumont, to act against the enemy with all possible diligence. He accordingly took Concordia, and approached Bologna, from whence the pope retired to Ravenna, after having endeavoured in vain to persuade his allies to hazard a battle. He had no sooner withdrawn himself, than an insurrection ensued in Bologna. The cardinal of Pavia, whom the pope had left governor of the place, abandoned his charge. The army of the allies, which had advanced to one of the gates, understanding this commotion, fled with the utmost precipitation, leaving their artillery, baggage, and ammunition, to the inhabitants; and to complete the mortification of the pope, his favourite cardinal of Pavia, was assassinated by his nephew the duke d'Urbino, who accused him of having lost Bologna by his cowardice. His holiness, therefore, seeing his army dispersed, and all his designs upon Ferrara defeated, retired from Ravenna to Rome; and on the road had the mortification, at several places to see the placards for the council of Pisa, by which he himself was summoned to appear in person. In this extremity, he expressed a desire of seeing the difference between him and France accommodated; and Lewis accepted of his proposals, provided they should be approved by the emperor: but, the Spanish fleet no sooner arrived at Naples for his service, than he raised his demands in such a manner, that Lewis plainly perceived his former proposals had been made solely with a view to gain time; and forthwith

A. C. 1511.

Guicciar-
dini.

A. A. Pub.

A. C. 1511. forthwith ordered Trivulci to send succours to Bologna, which, with the princes of Bentivoglio, he took under his protection. Mean while, Julius, with a view to countermine the council of Pisa, issued a bull, convoking another in the church of the Lateran. When the assembly of Pisa was actually opened, he excommunicated that city, as well as Florence, to which it belonged; and laid both places under an interdict. Maximilian still seemed to hesitate between his alliance with France and the proffers of the pope and Venetians; or rather he kept aloof at Inspruck, that he might take the advantage of the distress of either party.

Ferdinand on the other hand pretended, that his armament was designed against the Moors of Afric; but as soon as he had won over his son-in-law Henry of England, he changed his pretext, and declared, his intention was to protect the church against the violence of Lewis. He and Henry sent ambassadors to that monarch, requiring him to desist from his hostilities against the pope; otherwise, as christian princes, they could not help defending the church, which was distressed by his ambition. Lewis perceiving that their measures were already taken, would not deign to justify his conduct; but returned such a lofty answer as they wanted to receive. Immediately after this transaction, the pope, the king of Arragon, and the Venetians, concluded a league at Rome, leaving a place for the king of England, tho' his ambassador cardinal Bambridge did not sign the treaty. Henry hoped to conclude a separate alliance, which should be more advantageous to England, than this league, which only respected the interests of Italy, or rather the convenience of the pope; for, the professed aim of it was to retrieve the city of Bologna, and all the other territories which had been wrested from the holy see by any prince or person whatsoever. In the midst

Henry and
Ferdinand
declare
themselves
protectors of
the holy see
against
Lewis.

League of
Rome.

of these negotiations, the council of Pisa held two sessions in that city, although Julius had excommunicated all the cardinals and prelates of which it was composed, as well as all the princes by whom it was countenanced; but, an insurrection of the populace disturbing their deliberations, they transferred the council to Milan, where they thought they might take their measures with more safety. Among the adherents of Lewis was John d'Albret king of Navarre, who no sooner declared for the council of Pisa, than Ferdinand formed the design of depriving him of his kingdom on this pretence, and resolved to use Henry of England as the instrument, for putting this design into execution. He gave them to understand, that this was a favourable opportunity for recovering Guienne, which had belonged to his predecessors, as the Italian league would find such employment for Lewis, that he should not be in a condition to defend his own country. That as Guienne was so remote from England, he (Ferdinand) from his affection to Henry, would supply him with troops, transports, artillery, and ammunition, without desiring any advantage for himself, but the pleasure of contributing to the success of his son-in-law. This was the bait which allured Henry to enter heartily into the league with the pope, the king of Arragon, and the Venetians; as well as to violate the peace which he had so solemnly renewed with France, and which was so much for the interest of England. Far from interfering in the affairs of Italy, he ought to have encouraged Lewis in his designs upon that country, the prosecution of which would have effectually secured his kingdom from any danger of a French invasion.

In about six weeks after the ratification of the league of Rome, Henry and Ferdinand concluded another at London, in the preamble to which they expatiated

A. C. 1511.
Council of
Pisa.

A.C. 1511.

Treaty at
London be-
tween the
kings of
England and
Arragon.

expatiated upon the ambition and impiety of the French king, who had waged war against his holiness; made himself master of Bologna; endeavoured to surprise the person of the pope, an old, infirm valetudinary; routed the army of the holy see; and refused to abstain from such cruel hostilities, when advised by the kings of Arragon and England, to reconcile himself with the spiritual father of Christendom. In consequence of this obstinacy, they had for the praise and glory of God Almighty, our lord Jesus Christ, and the whole triumphant host of Heaven; for the defence, exaltation, and increase of the catholic faith, the christian religion, and the holy Roman church, unjustly oppressed, engaged in a solemn league and alliance, importing, That the two kings should undertake the defence and protection of the holy Roman see against all aggressors: That Ferdinand should take arms for that purpose in Italy: and, That with the same view of protecting the holy see, they should distress the king of France, by carrying the war into Guienne, which should be conquered for the king of England, to whom it of right belonged. For the execution of this article, Henry engaged to send thither a body of six thousand infantry, which should not be recalled without the consent of Ferdinand, who undertook to furnish five hundred men at arms, fifteen hundred light horse, and four thousand infantry, on the same condition. Besides, he promised to furnish the English troops with provision, and munitions of war at a moderate price; and the two kings agreed to equip a considerable fleet for the purposes of this expedition. It was stipulated, That Ferdinand should provide forty vessels, at a reasonable price, for transporting the English troops to Guienne: That the places taken in that country, or elsewhere, should be delivered to him of the two kings who should appear to have
the

the prior claim to such acquisitions: That the army belonging to one of the kings, being in Guienne, or elsewhere, they should both act with all their power for the defence of either's dominions, provided they should require assistance: That they should adhere to the council of the Lateran, and oppose that of Pisa, with all its favourers and adherents: That neither king should make peace or truce without the other's consent: That this treaty should not cancel those which had been formerly concluded: and, That it should be ratified in four months by the contracting parties.

A. C. 1531.

Rymer

Immediately after the conclusion of this treaty, which was communicated to Lewis by the pope's agent at London, whom he had bribed for intelligence, Henry called a parliament, which meeting on the fourth day of February, he made them acquainted with his design against France, solemnly protesting, that his sole aim was to defend the pope, and abolish the schismatic council, which had been transferred from Pisa to Milan. A war with France was never unwelcome to the English people. The commons voted a considerable subsidy; and several laws were enacted, relating to the conduct of the expedition. At last the session broke up, after having removed the attainder of Sir Edmund Dudley, and restored his son John to the rank, estate, and honours of his family. Then Henry sent Silvester bishop of Worcester, and Sir Robert Wingfield, as his ambassadors to the council of the Lateran, with full power to consent, in his name, to every decree that should be made for the reformation of the church, in its head and members. This step being taken, he conferred the command of his fleet upon Edward Howard, eldest son of the earl of Surrey; and that of the army destined to act on shore, on Thomas Grey marquis of Dorset. The troops intended for the Guienne expedition, embarking in the month

A. C. 1531.

Ld. Herbert.

A. C. 1512.
Troops sent
into Spain
under the
command of
the marquis
of Dorset.

Sea engage-
ment be-
tween the
English and
French.

Du Bellay.
Ld. Herbert.

Ferdinand
conquers
Navarre, and
amuses the
English ge-
neral.

month of May, arrived in the province of Guipuscoa about the beginning of June, where they landed with the general, and met with a very cordial reception from the commissioners of Ferdinand. Admiral Howard, who had conveyed them thither, in his return made a descent on the coast of Brittany, from whence he carried off a considerable booty. He afterwards received a reinforcement, which Henry sent upon hearing that the French king had fitted out a powerful navy; and the enemy sailing from Brest, both fleets met in the Channel, where a desperate engagement ensued. In the course of the battle, the Regent, a large ship, commanded by Sir Thomas Knevit, grappled with the Cordeliere, one of the strongest ships of France, the captain of which finding himself overpowered, set fire to the magazine, and blew up both vessels; so that every person on board of them perished, to the amount of sixteen hundred chosen men. This dreadful scene interrupted the combat, and affected both sides in such a manner, that they had no inclination to renew the engagement. The French retired to Brest, and the English remained masters of the channel.

Ferdinand, notwithstanding the terms of his league with Henry, had no other intention but that of conquering Navarre; and therefore his general, the duke of Alva, instead of joining the marquis of Dorset, who had encamped at Fontarabia, with a view to invest Bayonne, remained at Logroño with his forces, alledging that it would be dangerous to undertake the siege of Bayonne, while the king of Navarre continued attached to the interest of Lewis; because while they should be employed at the siege he might introduce the French into his dominions; and encamping between the mountains and the sea, cut off their convoys, without hazarding a battle. He there-
fore

fore proposed that they should try to bring over that prince to their measures, before they should embark in such an important enterprize. The marquis, persuaded by this remonstrance, dispatched an English officer, to desire the king of Navarre to join the allies; and Ferdinand sent him a message to the same purpose. He declared he would observe an exact neutrality; but they pressing him either to join them, or deliver four places for their security, he rejected their proposals, without hesitation. Mean while a French army, commanded by the duke of Longueville, approaching the frontiers of Bearne, the marquis complained, that the time lost in the negotiation with the king of Navarre had given the French an opportunity to come and defend their frontiers; and he insisted upon knowing whether or not Ferdinand would attack Guienne, according to the treaty of London. The king of Arragon replied, that it would be imprudent in him to let his army march to Fontarabia, and besiege Bayonne, while his own dominions should be left exposed to invasion from the enemy; that it would be more for their advantage to march thro' Navarre, and secure three or four places of that kingdom, by way of prevention. He, for this reason, expressed a desire that the English troops would join the duke of Alva for that purpose; and he did not doubt that the king of Navarre would engage in the league, as soon as he should find himself hard pressed, so as to justify his conduct, should he be questioned by Lewis; in which case the siege of Bayonne would be undertaken with a much better prospect of success. The English general gave him to understand, that he had no instructions to act against the king of Navarre; and that he could not resolve to make such a long circuit as would be necessary for joining the duke of Alva. Ferdinand, not satisfied with this answer, still

A. C. 1512.

pressed him to join his army; and in the mean time ordered his general to invest Pampeluna, the capital of Navarre, which in a little time surrendered upon capitulation; while the king of that country retired to France, and entered into a treaty with Lewis for their mutual defence. After the reduction of Pampeluna, Ferdinand, instead of joining the English forces, according to his promise, ordered the duke of Alva to continue his conquests; while the troops under the marquis of Dorset, served as an army of observation, and intimidated the French from entering Navarre; so that the Spanish general was enabled to subdue the greatest part of that kingdom, without interruption. The king of Arragon, in the mean time, dispatched a messenger to England, to cajole Henry with an unfair account of his proceedings; and, as the king of England had received no intelligence to the contrary, from the marquis of Dorset, he, at the request of Ferdinand, ordered that general to co-operate with the Spanish army. Before the marquis received this order, the duke of Alva reduced St. Jean de pied de port; and then the king of Arragon offered, that if the marquis of Dorset would join his forces, they should march directly into Guienne, and besiege Bayonne; but this proposal was rejected, as an impracticable scheme, by the marquis, who knew that the French army was intrenched between Bayonne and Salvatierra; so that he could not pass the river Bidassoa, without running the risk of losing his forces; and, Bayonne was by this time so well provided, that it could not be besieged with any hope of success.

Ferdinand was well acquainted with these circumstances, and the sole design of his proposal was to obtain a pretence for charging upon the marquis the whole blame of leaving Guienne uninvaded. That nobleman, incensed at his dissingenuous conduct,

duct, and seeing his army daily diminish by sickness and dearth of provision, demanded transports for conveying them to their own country. These were granted, with a seeming reluctance, by Ferdinand, who, though he protested against their departure, was very little concerned at their retreat, because he had already made himself master of the whole kingdom of Navarre. At this period the marquis of Dorset falling sick, was succeeded in command by lord Thomas Howard; and just as the troops were ready to embark, the herald arrived with an order to the general to obey king Ferdinand in all his directions. This news produced a mutiny in the army, which could not be restrained from embarking; and, when they were returned to their own country, the king was at first incensed against the general: but his indignation subsided when he was informed of all the transactions of the campaign, by which he plainly perceived that he had been egregiously duped by his father-in-law. He found it convenient, however, to dissemble and temporise, lest Ferdinand should leave him in the lurch, by making a separate accommodation with Lewis. Before the end of the year, the king of Arragon was in full possession of Navarre, which he had no other pretext for retaining, but the pope's bull, denouncing excommunication against John d'Albret, king of Navarre; and bestowing his dominions upon the prince by whom they should be first conquered.

A. C. 1512.

Troops re-
turn to Eng-
land.

Mezerai.

Ld. Herbert.

During these transactions in Navarre, the army of the allies in Italy, commanded by the viceroy of Naples, undertook the siege of Bologna; but they were obliged to lay aside that enterprize at the approach of Gaston de Foix, duke de Nemours, who afterwards routed them at Ravenna, but was himself killed in the pursuit: then all the towns of Romagna surrendered voluntarily to the cardinal

A. C. 1512. St. Severin, who attended the French army as legate from the council of Pisa, translated to Milan. The cardinals at Rome were so terrified at these events, that they went in a body, and supplicated Julius to make peace with France; but he had resources of which they were ignorant. The Swiss, at the instigation of the cardinal of Sion, resolved to invade the dutchy of Milan; and la Palisse, the French general, being apprized of their preparations, hastened to the defence of that country, leaving St. Severin with a small body of troops in the Romagna; so that Rome was freed of its apprehensions, and Julius opened the council of the Lateran. Immediately after the retreat of la Palisse, the towns of Romagna submitted to the pope. Lewis was fain to send an army into Bearn, to hinder the English and Spaniards from invading Guienne; the emperor concluded a truce with the Venetians, and withdrew his troops from the army of France left to defend the Milanese; so that cardinal St. Severin was recalled for the succour of that dutchy. Sixteen thousand Swiss began their march for Italy by the way of Trent, through which they were allowed a free passage by Maximilian, who excused himself to Lewis, by saying, that his alliance with the Cantons would not allow him to refuse them a passage through his dominions. Being joined by the Venetians at Verona, they approached Milan. Palisse, being so weakened that he could not pretend to oppose their progress, resolved to repass the mountains, and retire to France; and he was immediately followed by the fathers of the council, which, by a hasty decree, was transferred from Milan to Lyon. All the places of the Milanese immediately surrendered to the Swiss and Venetians, except Parma, Placentia, and Reggio. Alexander Bentivoglio quitted Bologna, which was abandoned to the pope's discretion; so that by

a very surprizing revolution, that pontiff recovered Ravenna, Bologna, the whole country of Romagna; and the French were driven from Italy. On this occasion the allies held a congress at Mantua, where they agreed that Maximilian Sforza should be re-established in Milan, and the house of Medicis at Florence. The inhabitants of this last city received the individuals of that family as private citizens; but the cardinal of Medicis, entering the place while the army of the confederates was at the gates, introduced a good number of officers and soldiers, by which means he excited an insurrection, that rendered him master of the place; and the sovereignty of his house was re-established.

A. C. 1512.

The French driven from Italy.

Guicciardini.

A second assembly was held at Rome, at the desire of the pope, who wanted to persuade his allies to act against the duke of Ferrara, and to effect a peace between the emperor and the Venetians, so as that Maximilian should abandon the council at Lyon. The duke of Ferrara was protected by the king of Arragon, and the Venetians refused to supply the pope with troops and money to subdue that dutchy: as to the peace between the emperor and the republic, it was rendered impracticable by the intolerable terms which Maximilian pretended to impose. At length, Julius, resolving at all hazards to dissolve the council of Pisa, and hinder Lewis from re-entering Italy, engaged with the emperor in a league offensive and defensive, against Venice. Maximilian consented to the pope's keeping Parma, Placentia, and Reggio, saving still the rights of the empire; to renounce the council of Pisa, and abandon the duke of Ferrara, and the Bentivoglios. Julius engaged to assist the emperor with all his power; to launch his thunder against the Venetians, and declare them excluded from the league of Rome. This treaty being ra-

League between the pope and the emperor against the Venetians.

A. C. 1512. tified, Maximilian renounced the assembly of Pisa, and Sforza was put in possession of the dutchy of Milan, according to the resolution taken by the allies at Mantua.

Henry king of England, notwithstanding his late experience of Ferdinand's double-dealing, allowed himself to be amused again by that prince and his allies. They gave him to understand, that having nothing to fear from Italy, they would now unite their forces, in order to invade France; so that he could not fail to recover Guienne and Normandy. He forthwith sent ambassadors to Brussels, to conclude a league against Lewis, with the pope, the emperor, the king of Arragon, and Charles of Austria, sovereign of the Low Countries. Then he assembled a parliament, to demand a subsidy, which was chearfully granted; and, during this session, he received a bull from the pope, granting a plenary indulgence to all his subjects who should assist him in this war, with their persons or money. Henry would willingly have lived in peace with his brother-in-law, James king of Scotland; but that prince, partly from the maxims of policy, and partly from his resentment of Henry's refusing to give him satisfaction in the affair of Barton, was altogether biassed in favour of Lewis. He fitted out a fleet of ships, under the command of Andrew Barton, brother to the corsair of that name; and this officer took a great number of English vessels. As soon as Henry declared war against France, James engaged in a league with Lewis, and began to assemble an army for making an irruption into England, after the forces of that kingdom should have embarked in the expedition to the continent. Henry, alarmed at the Scottish armament, sent two ambassadors to expostulate with James; who said, that being allied to both crowns, his intention was to observe an exact neutrality: but

Act. Pub.

James king of Scotland engages in a treaty, offensive and defensive, with Lewis of France.

but the king of England, being afterwards informed of his league with Lewis, appointed the earl of Surrey warden of the northern provinces, with power to raise an army, and act against Scotland, in case of necessity.

Ld. Herbert,

While affairs remained in this situation, pope Julius II. died, and was succeeded in the papacy by cardinal John de Medicis, who assumed the name of Leo X. and began his pontificate in the thirty-seventh year of his age. He was not so fiery and insolent as his predecessor, but possessed a great fund of art and address; and was already well experienced in the political transactions of Europe, as he had been employed by Julius in the most important negotiations. He accordingly prosecuted the plan which that pontiff had projected. He was doubly interested to keep the French out of Italy, as pope and a prince of the house of Medicis; and he was bent upon the ruin of the council of Pisa, which he could not effect, without exciting wars against Lewis, which should compel him to make peace with the church. Ferdinand's aim was to employ the French king at a distance from Navarre, Roussillon, and Naples; and the emperor wished that France might be disabled from assisting the Venetians: but, as none of these powers were inclined to carry the war into the dominions of Lewis, their business was to find some other power, who should make this diversion: and, for that purpose, they cast their eyes upon Henry king of England, who had plenty of money and warlike subjects; and was fired with the ambition of distinguishing himself by some achievement of importance. All the allies, therefore, separately encouraged him to undertake the enterprise against France, promising to act vigorously for his interest; and a new league was formed at Mechlin, on the following conditions: That, in thirty days after the ratification

A. C. 1512.

A. C. 1513.

Treaty of
Mechlin.

A. C. 1513. tion of this treaty, each of the confederates should declare war against France, and invade her dominions from different quarters : That the pope should issue the censures of the church against all their opponents ; and that, in order to defray the expence of the war, Henry should pay one hundred thousand crowns to the emperor. Never was there less sincerity in any negotiation. Of all the confederates Henry alone intended to fulfil his engagements. The pope never ratified the treaty ; Ferdinand disavowed his ambassador, by whom it had been confirmed ; and the emperor received Henry's money, without any design of observing the other articles.

The French king makes another effort in Italy, but is obliged to abandon his conquests.

In the mean time the Venetians concluded a league with Lewis, who immediately sent an army into Italy, under the command of La Tremouille ; at whose arrival on the confines of the Milanese, Sforza abandoned his capital, and took refuge among the Swiss ; who, to the number of six or seven thousand, had taken post at Como and Novara, where they expected a reinforcement of their countrymen. The French general proceeded without interruption in his conquests in that dutchy ; while Alviano, who commanded the Venetian troops, made himself master of Peschiera, Brescia, Valeggio, and Cremona. At the same time the faction of France prevailed at Genoa, which was again subjected to the dominion of Lewis ; who did not, however, long enjoy his good fortune. La Tremouille, in hope of carrying Novara by assault, attacked the place with incredible fury ; but was repulsed, with considerable loss, by the valour of the Swiss, who, animated with their success, quitted their intrenchments, and charged the French in their turn, with such impetuosity, that Tremouille was intirely routed, and obliged to repass the mountains with the utmost precipitation ; so that Sforza

Sforza repossessed himself of Milan, and the French party was expelled from Genoa. Nor was the Venetian general more fortunate : he forthwith retired into the territories of the republic, where he undertook the siege of Verona ; but Raymond de Cardonna, the Spanish general, not only obliged him to raise the siege, but pursued him from place to place, until he brought him to an engagement, in which he was totally defeated : a disaster which terrified the Venetians to such a degree, that they were fain to refer their cause to the determination of the pope, though he had declared against them, and sent a reinforcement of troops to the emperor.

Guicciar-
dini.

While the French and Venetians experienced these vicissitudes of fortune in Italy, the king of England employed all his attention in preparing a fleet and army for his expedition into France. By this time, Thomas Wolfey had been created a privy counsellor ; and, by his insinuating address, became a favourite with Henry, as well as the companion of all his pleasures. Not that his talents were limited to the arts of a courtier ; he made it his business to acquire a perfect insight into state-affairs. He pointed out the impolitic steps which the king had taken since his accession to the throne. He discovered and demonstrated the craft and selfishness of his allies, who had taken such advantage of the king's youth and inexperience, and convinced him of the necessity of choosing an able minister, for the management of his most difficult affairs at home and abroad. He himself became that very minister, and the king reposed the utmost confidence in his attachment and abilities. The favour of his sovereign rendered him proud, insolent, and ungrateful ; and he soon incurred the hatred of the whole nation ; though, as this popular odium extended, his credit and influence with Henry seemed to in-crease,

A. C. 1513. creafe, until the moſt powerful princes of Europe courted his friendship and good offices. Hoſtilities between France and England being already commenced by ſea, admiral Howard ſet ſail with two and thirty ſhips of war, in order to attack the French fleet, which lay at anchor in Breſt, waiting a reinforcement of fix gallies under the command of Pregent, from Marſeilles. Howard, underſtanding that this officer was arrived at Conqueſt, ſteered thither, and attacked him with great vigour. His own ſhip grappling with the galley commanded by Pregent, he leaped on board of the enemy with a few followers; but, the French commander diſengaging himſelf, Howard was left in the galley, and ſlain in the confuſion of the fight. The Engliſh, diſcouraged by the death of their admiral, diſcontinued the battle, and returned to England, where Henry beſtowed the command upon Thomas Howard, brother of the deceased. The French navy, being reinforced by the gallies, and elevated with their ſucceſs, ſet ſail for the coaſt of England, and made a deſcent in Suffex, from whence they carried off a conſiderable booty.

Admiral
Howard
ſlain in an
engagement
with the
French
fleet.

Ld. Herbert.

Henry, having finiſhed his preparations, ſummoned his allies to fulfil their ſeveral engagements, according to the treaty of Mechlin. The pope had no intention to ſend an army into Provence; the emperor was in no condition to enter Burgundy. The king of Arragon had privately concluded a truce for one year with Lewis, and even comprehended the king of England, without his knowledge. Henry, being informed of this tranſaction, was ſo incenſed, that he ſent an ambaffador to reproach his father-in-law for ſuch deceitful conduct, and ſummon him to execute the treaty of Mechlin, which his envoy had ſolemnly ratified in his name at London. Ferdinand now alledged that this envoy had exceeded his inſtructions; that he had
been

Henry re-
ſolves to pro-
ſecute the
war with
France.

been constrained by the necessity of his affairs to A. C. 1513. conclude the truce with Lewis; but he promised to exert himself vigorously after it should be expired, and advised his son-in-law to accede to the suspension: in which case they would afterwards unite their forces, and act together against the common enemy. Henry would no longer depend upon his promises; and now, for the first time, discovered the insincerity of his allies, and found himself subjected to the expence of a war against France, which he expected would have been attacked at the same time from four different quarters. About this time, he received a letter of excuse from the emperor, giving him to understand, that he could not possibly invade Burgundy till next year; but, in the mean time, he would serve in person as a volunteer in the army of England. Notwithstanding these disappointments, the king was so animated with ambition, and the thirst of glory, that he resolved to maintain the war at his own hazard: though he was, at this juncture, inflamed with a passion of a much more fordid nature.

He ordered the earl of Suffolk, who was prisoner in the Tower, to be beheaded without any form of trial; though the late king had positively promised to Philip of Castile, to spare the life of that unfortunate nobleman, whose death was now owing to Henry's fear of the house of York, or to his revenge against the earl's brother Richard de la Pole, who served in the French army. Two bodies of Earl of Suffolk beheaded. troops were transported to Calais in the month of June, under the command of the earl of Shrewsbury, and the lord Herbert; and these were ordered to undertake the siege of Terouenne. They were soon followed by Henry himself, who, having appointed queen Catherine regent of the realm, embarked for Calais, accompanied by his two favourites,

A. C. 1513.
 Rymer.
 The king
 embarks for
 Calais, and
 routs the
 French at
 Terouenne.

vourites, Wolsey, prime minister, and Charles Brandon, lately created viscount de Lisle, with a considerable number of other noblemen. While the troops of England carried on the siege of Terouenne, Henry remained at Calais with a body of nine thousand men, ready to march, in case of necessity. At length he received intelligence, that the duke of Longueville was on his march to the relief of the place. Then he set out from Calais for the camp of the besiegers; and, on the ninth day of August, had an interview between Aire and Terouenne, with the emperor, who, in three days after this conference, joined the English army, as a volunteer; and received an appointment of an hundred crowns a-day, as Henry's soldier. When the duke of Longueville approached Terouenne, the king of England passed the Lys, on purpose to give him battle, and an engagement immediately ensued, though it was not of long continuance; for, the French were seized with a panic, and fled in the utmost confusion. Their general was taken prisoner, together with the chevalier Bayard, La Fayette, Bussy d'Amboise, and some other officers of distinction; and this affair, which happened at Guinegaste, was denominated, the Battle of the Spurs, because the enemy had made more use of spurs than of any warlike weapon. Before the engagement, a body of French troops had attempted to throw a convoy into Terouenne, but they were repulsed by the lord Herbert, who guarded the trenches; and the besieged surrendering the town immediately after the battle, the king, accompanied by the emperor, entered the place in triumph.

Mezgrai.

Ld. Herbert.

One would imagine Henry had been born to be the dupe of his allies. Maximilian, who had served as a volunteer only at this siege, persuaded the king to deliver the town into his hands; and he ordered the walls to be razed to the foundation,

that

that the dominions of his grandson Charles of Au-
 stria, might no longer be exposed to insults from the
 garrison of this fortress. It was likewise at the insti-
 gation of Maximilian, that Henry afterwards be-
 sieged Tournay, though before the place was in-
 vested, the emperor quitted the army in disgust,
 the reason of which has escaped the notice of his-
 torians. The king of England, after having vi-
 sited Margaret the governante of the Low Coun-
 tries, at Lisle, marched directly to Tournay, which
 capitulated in seven or eight days, on condition
 that the inhabitants should enjoy their privileges,
 and for ten years pay a small annual tribute to the
 conquerer. Instead of razing the fortifications, he
 secured the place with a good garrison, commanded
 by Sir Edward Poynings, though it lay at a greater
 distance from Calais than Terouenne, which he had
 demolished: but he was on this occasion influenced
 by the counsel of Wolsey, who had cast his eyes on
 the bishopric of Tournay, of which he was after-
 wards created administrator, on pretence, that the
 bishop had refused to take the oath of allegiance to
 the king of England. Immediately after the re-
 duction of Tournay, the princess Margaret, and
 her nephew the archduke Charles, went thither to
 congratulate him upon his conquest, and were for
 fifteen days regaled with tilts and tournaments,
 courses, balls, masquerades, and other diversions;
 though, in the midst of all that pastime, the mini-
 sters of the two courts broached a treaty, which was
 in the sequel brought to perfection; and ratified
 at Lisle on the following conditions: That Henry,
 notwithstanding his convention with the emperor,
 should be at liberty to return with his army into Eng-
 land: That during the winter Maximilian should
 maintain in the Artois, four thousand horse, and six
 thousand infantry, for the defence of Tournay, and the
 archduke's dominions; and, for the maintenance of
 these troops receive from Henry the sum of two hun-
 dred

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Reduces
Tournay.

Act. Pub.

and con-
cludes a new
treaty with
Maximilian.

Rymer.

A. C. 1513. dred thousand crowns, at different terms : That, before the month of June in the following year, the king of England should invade Guienne, Normandy, or Picardy, and the emperor fall upon some other province of France : and, That before the fifteenth day of May, the emperor, the dutchess Margaret, the archduke Charles, the king of England, queen Catharine, and the princess Mary, should meet at Calais, to celebrate the marriage of the archduke with the princess Mary, according to the convention between the late king and Maximilian. After this transaction, Henry set out from Lisle on the seventeenth day of October, and arrived on the twenty-fourth at his own palace of Richmond, extremely well pleased with the success of the campaign.

Rupture between James
of Scotland
and Henry.

The victory of Guinegaste, and the reduction of Terouenne and Tournay, were not the only triumphs he enjoyed at this juncture. In his absence, James IV. of Scotland, having assembled an army, to make a diversion in favour of Lewis, sent a letter by an herald to Henry while he was engaged in the siege of Terouenne, containing an account of the injuries he pretended to have suffered from the English king ; and a declaration of war, in case he should not immediately desist from the hostilities he had commenced against France. To that intimation Henry sent an answer, importing, That James did no more than imitate the insincerity and deceit of his ancestors, in violating the peace on frivolous pretexts : that he durst not openly espouse the quarrel of Lewis, until the king of England had transported his army to the continent : but that Henry being well acquainted with his character, had put his kingdom in such a posture of defence, as would baffle all the endeavours of such a schismatic, who was already excommunicated by the pope, and the council of the Lateran. He said, he hoped he should soon be in a condition to retort his

his ill offices ; and, in the mean time, would take care to deprive him and all his posterity of the hope of ever inheriting that kingdom to which he was such an inveterate enemy. He exhorted him to remember the fate of the king of Navarre, who in assisting France had been stripped of his own dominions. He denied that he had ever done him the least injury ; he assured him he should never acknowledge the king of Scotland as a judge or umpire in his contest with Lewis ; and that he would let slip no opportunity of chastising him for his breach of faith.

James, without waiting for this answer, entered Northumberland in the month of August, at the head of a numerous army, and reduced Norham, with several other places. This expedition was hastened by the defeat of the earl of Hume, who had been sent with six thousand men, to make an incursion into England ; and in his return fell into an ambush laid by Sir William Bulmer, who routed him at the pass of Broom-house. This disgrace exasperated James, and induced him to precipitate his invasion, contrary to the advice of his nobles, and the inclination of his queen, who exerted all her influence in dissuading him from the enterprize. He remained, however, deaf to all those remonstrances ; and suffered himself to be hurried to his own ruin by a false punctilio, aided by the insinuation of De la Mothe the French ambassador. The earl of Surrey was no sooner informed of his motions, than he appointed Newcastle as the place of rendezvous for the forces of the northern counties ; and on the thirtieth day of August, he was there joined by the lord Dacres, Sir William Bulmer, Sir Marmaduke Constable, and many other persons of distinction. James, since the reduction of Norham, had lost some precious time in idle dalliance with the daughter of a northern baron, owner of

James in-
vades Eng-
land.

A. C. 1513. the castle of Ford: and the English general resolved to go in quest of him without delay. On the third day of September he marched to Alnewic, where he was reinforced by his own son the lord admiral, at the head of five thousand chosen men; so that the army now amounted to six and twenty thousand men eager for battle. James had taken possession of a strong camp on a mountain called Flodden-hill, in the neighbourhood of Ford, where he indulged himself in his amorous commerce, so as to give umbrage to the best and wisest of his subjects. Great part of his army deserted to their own country, with the plunder they had gained. The earl of Angus returned to Scotland in disgust; and the earl of Hume, with many others, expressed such indifference, at such a juncture, as even amounted to treachery. In a word, the king of Scotland saw his troops diminished one half; but, he was so advantageously posted, that the English could not attack him with any probability of success. The earl of Surrey, knowing his disposition, sent an herald with a defiance, couched in the most provoking terms; and James declared he would give him battle on the Friday following. Surrey forthwith drew up his army in order of battle; and marching to Woller-haugh, within three miles of the Scottish camp, made a motion towards the left, along the river Till, which he passed, and then directed his march towards the Tweed, as if he intended to cut off the communication between the enemy and Scotland.

The country was by this time so wasted by the Scots, the roads so broken, and the rivers so swelled by the rains, that he would have found it impossible to establish magazines, or subsist for any length of time, while the enemy enjoyed abundance. The Scots were not ignorant of the advantages they possessed; and the earl of Huntley, in a council

council of war, expatiated upon them with great strength of argument; observing, that it would be madness to fight the English on their own terms, especially as they were superior in number of men; and that in a few days they would be obliged to retire for want of provision. James rejected this advice, as a proposal that derogated from his honour, and determined to fight them according to his promise. He forthwith ordered his huts to be set on fire; and, under favour of the smoke, quitted his advantageous situation, that he might draw up his army in the plain, where he already found the English in order of battle, so near, that his artillery planted on the declivity of a hill, could do no execution. They were formed into three lines; the first commanded by the lord admiral; the second by Sir Edward Howard, and Sir Marmaduke Constable; and the third by the earl of Surrey, assisted by the lord Dacres, and Sir Edward Stanley. The king of Scotland drew up his army on a rising-ground, not without great damage from the English artillery, planted at the pass of Millfield. The command of the van was given to the earl of Huntley; the second line was commanded by the earls of Lennox and Argyle; while the earls of Crawford and Montrose conducted the body of reserve; and James himself acted as a volunteer in his own army. Huntley charged the division of Howard with such fury, that it was immediately put in confusion, and routed: but, it was so seasonably supported by the lord Dacres, that the men rallied, and the battle became general. Both sides fought for a long time with incredible impetuosity, until the Highlanders being galled by the English artillery, broke in sword in hand upon the main body commanded by the earl of Surrey; and at the head of these, James fought in person with the most forward of his nobility. They attacked

A. C. 1513.

A. C. 1513. with such velocity, that the other line could not advance in time to sustain them; so that a body of the English intercepted their retreat: the earls of Crawford and Montrose were routed by the lord admiral, and his rallied forces, while the earl of Hume and his followers stood inactive, without making the least motion to their assistance. In the mean time James, being almost surrounded by the enemy, refused to quit the field, while it was yet in his power. He scorned to survive the disgrace of a defeat: but, alighting from his horse, formed his little body into an orb, resolving that the English should pay dear for the victory. In this posture he fought with such desperate courage as restored the battle; and even obliged the English to avoid the close fight, and have recourse to their arrows and artillery, which made terrible havock. The earls of Montrose, Crawford, Argyle, and Lennox, were killed upon the spot, with the bravest of their men; and the king of Scotland is said to have fallen in the midst of his slaughtered subjects. The engagement, however, was protracted until night parted the combatants. The darkness favoured the retreat of the Scots; and the English did not think the victory ascertained, until next day, when they found themselves masters of the field, and the enemy's artillery. Ten thousand Scots are said to have perished on this occasion; and the victors lost about half that number. A body, supposed to be that of James, was inclosed in a leaden coffin, and sent to London, where it remained unburied, until it was absolved by the pope of the sentence of excommunication, which he had incurred on account of his attachment to Lewis. The Scottish historians pretend, that this was not the body of James, but of a young gentleman called Elphinston, who, as well as several other volunteers, were habited like the king, that his danger might be the more

The king of
Scotland
is defeated
and slain at
Flodden.
Polyd. Virg.
Hall.
Hollings-
head.
Drake.

divided. They alledge, that James was seen on the other side of the Tweed after the battle; and that he was assassinated by the earl of Hume, who bore an inveterate grudge to his person. Be that as it will, he was a prince of great courage and generosity, and died universally lamented by his subjects, who loved him with extraordinary affection.

Henry, notwithstanding the laurels he had gathered in the course of this summer, began to be tired of the war with France, in proportion as he became more and more convinced of the treachery of his allies. After the battle of Guinegaste, the Swiss, instigated by the pope and the emperor, made an irruption into Burgundy, and invested Dijon, which was defended by La Tremouille lately returned from Italy. This officer, finding himself reduced to extremity, concluded a capitulation with the besiegers, by which he bound himself to pay four hundred thousand crowns; and promised, in his master's name, that the king should renounce all his pretensions to the dutchy of Milan. The Swiss received twenty thousand crowns of the money from La Tremouille, and four hostages, with which they returned very well satisfied to their own country: but these found means to escape, when Lewis refused to ratify the capitulation. That monarch finding himself unable to cope with so many adversaries, resolved to reconcile himself to the pope, who, having no personal enmity against him, and being now rid of his fears for Italy, exacted no other condition, but that of his renouncing the council of Pisa, which he immediately abandoned. The accommodation was no sooner effected, than Leo sent a brief to king Henry, exhorting him earnestly to a peace, as he had taken up arms for the defence of the holy see, and already accomplished that purpose, by his victories over

Henry perceives the treachery of his allies.

A. C. 1513. her enemy, in consequence of which he had returned to his obedience. Henry's eyes were now fully opened. He and his allies had used the declaration of defending the church, as a pretence only, to cover their own separate interests : and now the pope had accomplished his own aim, he pretended to interpret the preamble of their league in the literal acceptation. He had been more than once duped by his father-in-law the king of Arragon ; he had nothing to expect either from the power or sincerity of the emperor, and he foresaw that he should be unable of himself to maintain a war against the whole strength of France, from which he therefore endeavoured to extricate himself with the first opportunity.

Lewis, fired with the ambition of recovering Milan and Genoa, resolved to sow jealousies and dissensions among the allies ; and with this view renewed a negotiation with the emperor, touching a marriage between his daughter Renee, and Charles archduke of Austria. Such an alliance would have been very agreeable to Maximilian and Ferdinand ; but, the pope could not behold the prospect of it without the utmost disquiet ; for, he was not more afraid of seeing Milan in the hands of the French, than of its being possessed by a grandson of the emperor, and king of Arragon. He and the Swiss passionately desired to see the family of the Sforzas in possession of that dutchy. The chief aim of the Venetians was, to procure an equitable peace with the emperor, which they could not obtain without the assistance of France ; and this was not to be acquired but by aiding Lewis to recover the Milanese. Maximilian was the more averse to peace, as he found his account in the war, which was carried on at the expence of his allies against Venice ; and it was the interest of Ferdinand to keep the affairs of Italy embroiled, that

A. C. 1514.

that Lewis might not have leisure to convert his attention to Navarre, which the Spaniard had conquered. For this purpose he acted a great variety of parts; sometimes he assisted the emperor against Venice; sometimes he used his good offices with Maximilian, in favour of the republic; at other times he instigated the pope and the Swiss against Lewis; and then he offered his assistance to that prince, in conquering the dutchy of Milan. His whole conduct was made up of artifice and deceit, practised for his own selfish purposes: but, at length his cunning overshot itself; for he lost his reputation to such a degree, that no prince would confide in his professions. Pope Leo, alarmed at the negotiation which Lewis had renewed with the emperor, endeavoured to reconcile him with the Swiss, that he might be the less disposed to unite with Maximilian, and the king of Arragon; but, all his efforts proved ineffectual. Ferdinand, afraid of being left alone in the lurch, prolonged the truce for another year with Lewis; and his holiness endeavoured to promote an accommodation between the emperor and the Venetians, that the French might be discouraged from revisiting Italy. After some negotiation, they chose him arbiter of their difference, and he pronounced a provisional sentence, ordaining, That both parties should lay down their arms: That the emperor should put, by way of deposit, in his hands, the town of Vicenza, and all that the Spaniards occupied in the territories of Padua and Treviso: That the Venetians should act in the same manner with respect to Crema; and pay fifty thousand ducats to the emperor: but, That this provisional agreement should be null, if not ratified by both parties; and in that case, he engaged to pronounce a definitive sentence within the year. This award was accordingly rejected by the Venetians,

Ferdinand's
deceit and
dissimulation.

A. C. 1514. who thought a truce would be more prejudicial to their affairs than a continuation of the war.

Guicciardini.

Promotions.

Such was the state of affairs in Europe when Henry returned from France, and celebrated his victories with all sorts of public rejoicing. A parliament was assembled on the third day of January, tho' nothing of moment was transacted. During the session, the king conferred upon the earl of Surrey the title of duke of Norfolk, which his father had lost with his life at the battle of Bosworth; his eldest son Thomas became earl of Surrey; Charles Brandon viscount de Lisle was created duke of Suffolk; Charles Somerset was promoted to the earldom of Worcester; and, Margaret daughter of the duke of Clarence, brother to Edward IV. obtained the title of countess of Salisbury, as heiress of her brother the earl of Warwick, who had been beheaded. The bishopric of Lincoln becoming vacant, was bestowed upon Thomas Wolsey by the pope, who had reserved to himself all the collations of the English sees; and he afterwards appointed Wolsey administrator of the diocese of Tournay, on pretence of its being abandoned by the bishop.

Thomas Wolsey created bishop of Lincoln, and administrator of the diocese of Tournay.

Rymer.

Peace between England and France.

While the pope took these measures to make the minister of England propitious to his views, Lewis king of France made overtures of peace to Henry, by means of the duke of Longueville, who had been taken in the battle of Guinegaste. That nobleman acted as a private ambassador, in opening the eyes of the English monarch with regard to the conduct of his allies; and demanded his sister Mary in marriage for Lewis, who had lost his wife Anne of Brittany in the beginning of the preceding year. No Englishman was privy to this negotiation but the king himself, and Wolsey bishop of Lincoln, until both parties had agreed to almost all the articles proposed; and then the French king sending over two public ambassadors, a cessation of arms took

took place while the affair was on the carpet. After some debate and difficulty, three different treaties were signed on the seventh day of August. The first imported, That peace and friendship should subsist until one of the parties should die; and that his successor should within the year give notice to the survivor, whether or not he would renew the treaty: That all impositions laid within two and fifty years, by either king, to the prejudice of the other's subjects, should be abolished: That this peace should not be deemed broken and annulled on account of whatever violations might be committed on either side: That one party should not afford refuge and protection to the other's rebels. Both kings obliged themselves to assist each other, for the mutual defence of their dominions: for the recovery of territories retained by other princes, and in case of either's being attacked on account of this treaty; in which the pope, the Swiss, and the king of Scotland, were comprehended as the allies of Lewis, while Henry nominated as his friends, the pope, Bologna, with all the cities of St. Peter's patrimony, the archduke of Austria, and the Swiss. The second treaty stipulated, That the marriage between Lewis and the princess Mary should be contracted by proxy, and celebrated in ten days after the date of the treaty: That the king of England should send the princess at his own expence to Abbeville: and, That the French king should consummate the nuptials in four days after her arrival: That Mary's dower should amount to four hundred thousand crowns, one half of which should be expended in jewels: and, that in case of requisition, Lewis should not be obliged to restore above that value: That, with regard to the other half, Henry should pay it by giving an acquittance to the French king, for so much of one million which Lewis obliged himself by this treaty to pay to the

A. C. 1514. king of England: That the jointure of Mary should be as great as that which had been assigned to any queen of France; and in case of her surviving Lewis, she should have it in her power to live in France or England, according to her own inclination. In the third treaty, Lewis acknowledged, That Charles VII. of France had, in the pacification of Estaples, engaged to pay to Henry VII. of England and his successors, the sum of seven hundred and fifty thousand crowns, the arrears of which it was incumbent upon him (Lewis) to discharge: That his father Charles duke of Orleans, owed a certain sum to Margaret of Somerset, grandmother to Henry VIII. and, That as these two debts still remain unliquidated, Lewis promised to pay to the king of England, or his successors, one million of crowns, on account of the arrears due, in testimony of his affection, and in order to render the peace more durable. Before this treaty was signed, Mary declared, in presence of a notary and witnesses, that she had been forced to plight her troth to the prince of Castile, archduke of Austria, who had failed in the performance of his promise to marry her by proxy, as soon as she should have attained to the fourteenth year of her age; besides she alledged, that the counsellors and confederates of Charles exerted all their influence, in attempts to inspire him with hatred against her brother the king of England. The months of August and September were spent in preparations for the voyage of this new queen of France, and in the solemnization of the marriage by proxy in England and France, and the ratification of the treaties; and then Mary was conducted with a numerous retinue to Abbeville, where the marriage was consummated on the ninth day of October.

Ld. Herbert.
Act. Pub.

Princess
Mary of
England,
married to
Lewis of
France,

12.

In the mean time cardinal Bambridge dying at Rome, the archbishopric of York was bestowed on
Wolsey,

Wolsey, who directed the helm of government with the most absolute authority. By this pacification Henry extricated himself from an expensive war: and now his kingdom enjoyed profound tranquility: for, James IV. of Scotland, who was killed at Flodden, had left two infant sons, under the tuition of his queen, whom he had likewise in his last will appointed regent of the kingdom during her widowhood. She forthwith wrote to her brother Henry, desiring he would not molest the kingdom in the minority of his nephew James V. and he generously assured her, that he was equally disposed for peace or war, and left the choice of either to the Scottish ministry. This queen, however, did not long preserve her authority; for, giving her hand to Archibald Douglass earl of Angus, the faction which opposed that nobleman, headed by the earl of Hume, influenced the states to offer the regency to John duke of Albany, son of Alexander duke of Albany, brother to James III. who had died in France, leaving his title to this son, a young nobleman of reputation, and attached to the interest of Lewis, from whom he had received repeated marks of favour.

A. C. 1514.
Wolsey promoted to the archbishopric of York.

Buchanan.

The first day of the succeeding year was rendered remarkable by the death of the French king, Lewis XII. after he had been between three and four months in possession of his young consort. He was succeeded by the duke de Valois, under the name of Francis I. a young prince of an enterprising genius, who assumed the title of the duke of Milan; thereby demonstrating that he intended to prosecute the design of his predecessor, in recovering that dutchy. The young dowager Mary finding herself at liberty, by the death of her husband, to bestow her hand upon the person who had already captivated her heart, married Charles Brandon, duke of Suffolk, in the third month of her widowhood,

A. C. 1515.
Francis I. succeeds to the crown of France.

A. C. 1515.

Ed. Herbert.

dowhood, without the knowledge of her brother Henry, who at first expressed great indignation against the duke and her; but was soon reconciled to both, and re-admitted them into his favour. By that time they returned to England, the parliament was assembled; and among other regulations of a domestic nature, enacted three remarkable statutes. The first contained a prohibition to export unmanufactured wool from the kingdom; the second annulled all patents lately obtained, which contradicted the purport of anterior patents, not expressly mentioned in the latter; and the third ordained, that no member of parliament should absent himself before the end of the session, without express leave, on pain of forfeiting his wages. These affairs being transacted, Francis I. being resolved to march into Italy for the recovery of Milan, thought it absolutely necessary to secure the friendship of England, and sent an ambassador to London to renew the alliance with Henry, together with the obligation for paying the million which had been stipulated with Lewis. This negotiation met with no difficulty, and a new treaty was immediately concluded. Henry thought proper at the same time to send ambassadors to Brussels, to excuse his conduct to the archduke, in the affair of his sister's marriage, and to propose a new alliance; but they were received with great indifference, and a considerable time elapsed before they received an answer.

Francis I.
conquers
the dutchy
of Milan.

Mean while Francis began to make great preparations for his Italian expedition; and Ferdinand, being apprehensive that his real design was upon Navarre, engaged in a league with the emperor, the duke of Milan, and the Swiss, for obstructing his progress, whether he should attack that kingdom, or penetrate into Italy. The pope himself acceded privately to this treaty; and sent an army
in

into Lombardy, under the command of Laurence de Medicis. The king of Arragon raised forces for the defence of Navarre, and the Swiss sent troops to take possession of the passes into Italy; but Ferdinand no sooner understood the real design of France, than he disbanded his army which he had raised for the protection of Navarre, and forbade the viceroy of Naples, who commanded his forces in Italy, to join the allies. The emperor continued inactive at Inspruck, according to custom, and Leo made no motion towards assisting the Swiss, who were left to bear the whole burden of the war. Francis, having found means to pass the mountains by a way which was thought impracticable, the Swiss retired to Milan; and he, approaching the same city, offered them a great sum of money, if they would return to their own country. The negotiation was already pretty far advanced, when they received a reinforcement of fifteen thousand men, and not only rejected his proposal, but resolved to give him battle without delay. Accordingly they attacked him at Marignan, and were defeated with great slaughter: then they retired to Swisserland; and their ally, Maximilian Sforza, being obliged to surrender himself, with the citadel of Milan, to the victor, was sent prisoner to France. The pope, seeing Francis triumph over all his machinations, resolved to make his peace with that monarch; and an accommodation was immediately effected on such advantageous terms as his holiness had no reason to expect from a prince whom he had so grievously injured.

Guicciardi.
ni.

By this time Henry king of England began to alter in his disposition towards Francis. He became jealous and envious of that monarch's greatness and glory; he was instigated against him by Wolsey, who wanted to gratify his animosity against the French king, for having done him ill offices with
the

A. C. 1515. the pope, concerning the bishopric of Tournay, of which the English minister was administrator. Wolsey had desired Francis to bestow another diocese upon Lewis Guillard, bishop of that see, and the French king had promised to gratify him in that particular; but, instead of complying with his request, he solicited the pope to re-establish Guillard, who obtained a bull for that purpose. This mandate gave great umbrage both to Henry and his favourite, who thus lost an advantageous administration; but Francis, in order to pacify Wolsey, promised to employ his interest towards his obtaining a cardinal's hat, which was the chief object of his ambition. He had hoped to succeed Bambridge both as cardinal and archbishop of York; and employed as his solicitor, at the court of Rome, cardinal Adrian de Cornetto, the pope's collator in England, whose deputy in this office was Polydore Virgil the historian. The cardinal, however, had not acted with sincerity in this negotiation; and Wolsey, receiving intelligence that he had betrayed his cause, was so irritated against him, that he not only seized the first pretext that occurred to send Virgil prisoner to the Tower, but also influenced the king to write a letter with his own hand to the pope, desiring he would appoint a collator in the room of Adrian. His holiness did not think proper to refuse his request; but he and the cardinal, Julio de Medicis, solicited in their turn the enlargement of Polydore Virgil; who, nevertheless, was not discharged from his confinement until Wolsey had obtained the cardinal's hat by the good offices of the French monarch.

Wolsey obtains a cardinal's hat. He detaches the king from the interest of Francis.

Notwithstanding the joy with which he received the news of his promotion, he would not forgive the author of his elevation for the injury he sustained at his hands in the affair of Tournay; but resolved to engage Henry in a new league against France.

His

His three predominant passions were pride, interest, and revenge; and these three he resolved to gratify on this occasion. He wanted to shew that even sovereigns should not offend him with impunity. He consulted his revenge in distressing Francis; and his interest in preserving the administration of the bishopric of Tournay, which he had no prospect of retaining any other way than by a rupture between France and England. The king was wholly guided by his counsels, without perceiving his ascendancy. Richard Fox, bishop of Winchester, his benefactor, together with the dukes of Norfolk and Suffolk, received such mortifications from this imperious prelate, as obliged them to retire from court, that they might be no longer exposed to his insolence; and the rest of the privy council was chiefly composed of his creatures. He now fomented the king's passions against Francis, by exaggerating the greatness and glory of that monarch, and insinuating that it was the interest of England to humble his pride, and hinder him from growing more powerful. When he had thus prepared the king's disposition, he gave the emperor to understand that it would not be impossible to detach his master from the interest of Francis; and, in the mean time, he prevailed upon Henry to renew the alliance between Spain and England, notwithstanding the repeated perfidy of Ferdinand. Maximilian, overjoyed at these advances, sent a Milanese ambassador to London, to demand succours for Francis Sforza, who resided in Germany, and had assumed the title of duke of Milan since the captivity of his elder brother. Henry, on this occasion, convoked a general council, to which the bishop of Winchester, and the dukes of Norfolk and Suffolk, were particularly summoned. The cardinal opened the assembly with a studied speech against Francis, endeavouring to demonstrate that it was the interest

A. C. 1515.

Ed. Herbert.
Act. Pub.

of

A.C. 1515. of England to oppose the progress of his ambition. His sentiments were espoused by the bishop of Durham, and the majority of the members; but the ancient counsellors dissuaded the king from infringing the peace to which he had so solemnly sworn; and advised him to turn his arms against Scotland, where the French party prevailed over the interest of his sister. Henry himself seemed to follow a middle course; which, in all probability, was prescribed by his minister. He determined to assist the emperor and Francis Sforza privately: he ordered Richard Pace, his ambassador at the imperial court, to treat with them on the subject, and accommodated them with large sums of money. The duke of Milan engaged to pay an annual pension of ten thousand ducats to Wolsey for his good offices, as soon as he should be re-established in his dutchy; and the emperor sent Matthew Skinner, cardinal of Sion, into England, to negotiate a league with Henry.

Ld. Herbert.
A.C. Pub.

The parliament re-assembled on the twelfth day of November; and the clergy met in convocation about the same time, having considered the demand of an extraordinary subsidy, which the pope required on pretence of an approaching war with the Turks. They replied, that the last war, undertaken against France, at the solicitation of pope Julius II. for the defence of the church, had exhausted the clergy in such a manner, that they were in no condition to grant new subsidies: besides, by a decree of the council of Constance, the pope could not impose subsidies on the clergy, without the approbation of a general council. The English clergy were now subject to a new pope of their own, in the person of Wolsey, who was much more formidable than the pontiff of Rome, because supported by the king's whole authority. Since his being invested with the dignity of cardinal, he had become more vain, proud, and

Ld. Herbert,

and imperious than ever. He never appeared in public without the retinue of a sovereign prince. His cardinal's hat was carried as a trophy before him; and when he entered the chapel, placed upon the altar. He was preceded by his serjeant at arms and mace, two gentlemen carrying pillars of silver, and his cross-bearer. His habit was of silk; and the very harness of his horses embroidered with gold. Warham, archbishop of Canterbury, was shocked at his ostentation; and still more chagrined at his presumption, in ordering the cross of York to be carried erect in the province of Canterbury. Knowing himself unable to cope with Wolsey in point of interest, he begged leave to retire to his own see, and resign the office of chancellor, which was immediately conferred on the favourite cardinal, whom the king enabled to support his assumed dignity with continual benefactions of prebends, wardships, and other perquisites. Besides the income of his archbishopric and office of chancellor, he farmed at a mean price the fees of Bath, Wells, and Hereford, possessed by Italians residing at Rome; and his avarice increased with his revenue.

A. C. 1515.

The pride
and vanity
of Wolsey.

Act. Pub.

In the course of this year Alexander duke of Albany arrived in Scotland, which he found distracted by factions, which the king of England carefully fomented. As uncle to the infant king, he assumed the title of protector of that realm; and, by the connivance of the pope, filled the benefices with his own creatures. The duke of Albany being a stranger in Scotland, conducted himself by the information and direction of Hepburn, bishop of Murray, a passionate and factious prelate; who, having a dispute about his diocese with Formar, who was supported by the earl of Hume, painted this nobleman in such colours to the regent, that when he came to court he found himself treated with coldness and contempt. Enraged at Albany's behaviour,

Affairs of
Scotland.

A.C. 1515. behaviour, he compromised his dispute with the queen dowager, whom he persuaded to carry her son into England, where he would be screened from the treacherous design of the regent; but her intention was frustrated by the vigilance of the duke of Albany, who secured the person of the young king, and committed him, for his education, to the care of three persons of unblemished character. Hume and his brother escaped into England, whether they were followed by the queen, and her husband, Archibald earl of Angus. They were however prevailed upon by the assurances of the regent to return, though not before the queen was delivered, at Harbottle in Northumberland, of a daughter, who was called Margaret.

Buchanan.

A. C. 1516.

Death of
Ferdinand
king of
Spain.

In February the following year, the queen of England brought into the world a princess, christened by the name of Mary; and the same month was rendered remarkable by the death of Ferdinand king of Spain, who was succeeded in the throne of Castile and Arragon by his grandson, Charles archduke of Austria; just after that prince had renewed the alliance between England and the Low Countries, of which he was sovereign. As it was the interest of Charles to live in peace with France, until he should be firmly established in Spain, where he met with some opposition, Maximilian found himself obliged to act alone in Italy, where he assembled an army of twenty thousand Germans and Swiss, by means of the money he had received from England; and with these he made a fruitless attempt on Milan. Baffled in this undertaking, he endeavoured to engage the pope, the king of England, and his grandson Charles, in a league against France: and, miscarrying in this effort also, he tried to cajole Henry, by assuring him he would resign the empire in his favour, and assign to him his whole right to the duchy of Milan.

The

The king of England, being by this time perfectly well acquainted with the character of Maximilian, thanked him for his good will; but desired he would defer the execution of his scheme to a more favourable opportunity; and, in the meantime, gratified him with a sum of money, which was the real object of the emperor's pursuit.

A. C. 1516.

Gu'cciardi.
ni.

In the mean time Francis I. formed a project for the conquest of Naples, and endeavoured to render the pope propitious to this undertaking: but Leo wished for nothing so eagerly as for the expulsion of the French from Italy, and exerted all his endeavours to traverse the design of Francis in private, while he amused him with vague negotiations. The king of France, being at length convinced of his double-dealing, laid aside all thoughts of that expedition; and at Noyon, concluded a treaty of peace with Charles the new king of Castile. The pope, the emperor, and the king of England, employed all their artifice to detach Charles from the interest of France; but all they could obtain was his concurrence in a defensive league, concluded at London, by which they engaged to support one another mutually, in case of being attacked. The emperor soon grew tired of a league which produced no money; and, before the end of the year, acceded to the treaty of Noyon. He, at the same time, referred his dispute with the Venetians to arbitration; and consented, that the five cantons of Swiss, who had formerly refused to enter into an alliance with France, should now be comprehended in the treaty, together with the rest of their countrymen.

Mezerai.

Act. Püb.

Maximilian
makes peace
with Francis.

While the princes of the continent endeavoured to oppose the ambitious designs of each other, Henry concluded a truce for one year with the regent of Scotland, that he might have an opportunity to cabal against that nobleman, by the in-

Truce be-
tween Eng-
land and
Scotland.

A. C. 1516. fluence of the Humes, who were devoted to his interest. He wrote to the Scottish parliament, desiring they would send back the duke of Albany to France, because it was not proper that the young king should be in the power of his presumptive heir; and he threatened, in case they should refuse to comply with his proposal, that he would take other measures for the preservation of his nephew. The parliament paying very little regard to this remonstrance, the Humes persuaded Hamilton earl of Arran to claim the regency, as kinsman to the king; and in the mean time, they levied troops to support his pretensions. The duke of Albany being informed of this conspiracy, marched against the earl of Arran, and in a few days reduced his castle at Hamilton: then the Humes pulling off the mask, made themselves masters of Dunbar, which they demolished. They were afterwards decoyed to court by the regent, and beheaded for rebellious practices.

Buchanan.

During these transactions, the pope, and the council of the Lateran, were employed in reforming the calendar, which was extremely defective; and briefs were addressed to all the princes of Europe, desiring they would send their most able mathematicians to Rome, to facilitate this reformation.

A. C. 1517. At the same time his holiness solicited the powers of Christendom to join in a league against the Turks, which had just been concluded between the emperor, the kings of France and Spain. In this treaty a place was left for Henry of England, whom the pope earnestly exhorted, to concur in opposing the progress of the Turks against the Mamelukes of Ægypt, alledging, that the infidels, after having subdued the Ægyptians, would certainly turn their arms against the Christians: but, it afterwards appeared, that the sole design of his holiness was, to enrich himself and his family with the spoils

Projected
league a-
gainst the
Turks.

of

of Christendom. In the mean time, Francis Maria de la Rovera, by the help of the Spanish forces, recovered the dutchy of Urbino, of which he had been stripped in favour of Laurence de Medicis, the pope's nephew; and to the maintenance of this war was converted part of the tythe which he levied on the English clergy, by the hands of cardinal Wolsey. About this period a conspiracy was formed against the life of his holiness, by the cardinal of Sienna, who, being detected in his design, was decoyed to Rome by a safe-conduct, and strangled in the castle of St. Angelo. Francis I. being afraid of losing Milan by the intrigues of the pope, courted his friendship not only by supplying him with troops for the war of Urbino, but likewise, by offering Catherine heiress of the house of Boulogne, in marriage to Laurence of Medicis, who espoused her accordingly; and the pope was so well pleased with the match, that he indulged Francis with a tenth upon his clergy, on pretence of maintaining the war against the infidels.

The same pretext he used for selling plenary indulgences at a very moderate price, to all who would purchase their salvation. Christendom was divided into different departments, in which collectors were appointed to receive the money, together with certain priests instructed to preach up the utility of the indulgences. The archbishop of Mentz, who nominated the preachers in Germany, assigned the province of Saxony to the Jacobins, whereas in the preceding crusades, that employment had been always bestowed upon the Augustines. These last were so incensed at this supposed injury, that they industriously sifted the conduct of the preachers as well as the collectors, which they exposed, ridiculed, and censured in public. Martin Luther, an Augustine monk, and professor of theology in the new university of Wirtemberg, wrote against

A. C. 1517. those agents; and in his writings inserted some severe animadversions against the nature of the indulgences. By these bold attacks he incurred the resentment of a great number of ecclesiastics, and their opposition insensibly engaged him in a careful examination of the authority on which indulgences were founded. He was soon satisfied of their being altogether unsupported by scripture; and from that day laboured to disabuse the public with respect to their opinion of the papal power: though he is said to have been animated by the dictates of private resentment, in forwarding the reformation, which soon diffused itself over great part of Germany; and afterwards extended into other countries. The pope payed very little regard at first to Luther's efforts, thinking it impossible, that a simple monk could ever affect the power and authority of the sovereign pontiff; he therefore continued to sell his indulgences, and to exhort all good christians to contribute towards the success of such a necessary war. Among others he applied to the king of England, whom he extolled with the most extravagant encomiums, for his zeal in behalf of holy church; and then demanded a subsidy of two hundred thousand ducats, though he did not succeed in his negotiation.

Sleidan.

First appearance of Martin Luther.

Herbert.

Henry hankers after the imperial dignity.

Henry's imagination was much more engaged by the proposal of Maximilian, who had promised to resign the empire in his favour. Though he at first seemed to decline this honour, it made an impression upon his mind; and now that the emperor was in the Low Countries on a visit to his grandson, he sent the bishop of Winchester, and doctor Cuthbert Tunstall, to treat with him on the subject, and propose an interview. Maximilian told them, he would spare their king the trouble of crossing the sea, by going in person to England; but when they talked to him on the other subject, he answered

with

with equivocation, and sought to evade his promise, on various pretences; alledging, that he must first obtain the consent of the diet, that he himself might retain the title of king of the Romans, and render it hereditary in his family: at other times, he said his intention was to procure the imperial crown to his grandson Charles, to create Henry king of the Romans, and to erect Austria into a kingdom for Ferdinand the brother of Charles. From these vague declarations, the ambassadors concluded, that he had no intention to part with the imperial crown; and that his original proposal was no more than a scheme of adulation to extort money from the king of England. Henry had very little reason to be chagrined at his being disappointed in the hope of such a troublesome dignity. He ruled over a wealthy nation, which entirely acquiesced in his government; and the tranquillity of his people was uninterrupted, except by petty commotions, which were easily quelled. One of these happened at this juncture, in the city of London, where the apprentices raised a riot against foreigners, some of whom were robbed and murdered. The earls of Salisbury and Surrey assembling the inns of court men, cleared the streets of the populace; and in about three days after the riot, the duke of Norfolk entering the city at the head of thirteen hundred armed men, joined the mayor, and proceeded legally against the offenders. John Lincoln, a broker, and three other ringleaders, were hanged, drawn, and quartered. Ten were hung on gibbets in the streets; the recorder and aldermen went in mourning to court, and deprecated the wrath of the king, who referred the affair to the cognizance of the cardinal, who was chancellor of the realm. In consequence of his award, all the prisoners in white shirts, with halters about their necks, appeared before the king at

Riot in
London.

A. C. 1517. Westminster, and craving mercy, were pardoned.

Sweating
sickness.

This disturbance was succeeded by the sweating sickness, which raged in England with such malignity, that a great number of people died in three hours after they were seized with the distemper, which, in some towns, destroyed one third, and in others, one half of the inhabitants.

Views of
the different
powers in
Europe.

Though there was not one prince in Europe that thought the pope was really in earnest in his project for a general league against the Infidels, or even believed such a scheme practicable, almost every individual potentate used it as a pretext for covering his own interested designs. The emperor being desirous of seeing one of his grand-children elected king of the Romans, availed himself of this pretended war against the Turks, to persuade the Germans, that the imperial dignity ought to be preserved in the house of Austria, as no other family in the empire had power enough to resist their attempts. Charles king of Spain made use of the same pretence for the same purpose; and as he had occasion for some years of peace, strenuously insisted upon the conclusion of a general truce, that the christian princes might be at liberty to unite their forces against the Infidels. Such a proposal could not be disagreeable to the French king, alarmed by the defensive league which had been formed against him, and eager to recover Tournay, which he could not hope to retrieve in time of peace; and Henry VIII. was glad to engage in the alliance formed by the pope, the emperor, the kings of France and Spain; because his refusal might have furnished them with a pretence for undertaking something to his prejudice. The example of such powerful sovereigns was followed by all the petty powers in Europe; and the pope began to think that this project would be put in execution,

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than which, nothing was farther from the thoughts of the contracting parties. A. C. 1517.

The king of France foreseeing that he should never be able to retrieve Tournay, without gaining over to his interest cardinal Wolsey, who was administrator of that bishopric, spared neither flattery, promises, nor presents, to render that prelate propitious to his views; and at length, he prevailed upon him to agree to the restitution, on condition that the cardinal should be indemnified for the loss of the administration, by a yearly pension: that the French king should pay six hundred thousand crowns to Henry for the city of Tournay: and, that a match should be effected between the dauphin and the princess Mary, daughter to the king of England. This private convention being settled, Wolsey all of a sudden, changing his usual strain, represented to the king, that the expence of the garrison of Tournay greatly surpassed all the advantages he could derive from the possession of a place which was at such a distance from Calais; that it could not be maintained in case of a rupture between the two crowns: he therefore advised him to fill his coffers with the money which was offered by Francis; and embrace the proposal of the match, which would consolidate their friendship, render them the arbiters of Europe, and form a seasonable bulwark against the growing power of the house of Austria, already in possession of the empire, Spain, the Low Countries, and the kingdoms of Naples and Sicily. Henry plainly perceived Wolsey's motives for changing the tenor of his discourse in this manner; and publicly declared, that he saw Wolsey was resolved to govern both himself and the king of France. Indeed, the cardinal had made a merit of disclosing to the king the advances which the French monarch had made to him in private, observing, that the prince

Herbert.

A. C. 1517. must be very desirous of Henry's friendship who would sue so submissively to his servants. Wolsey had gained such an ascendancy over the mind of his sovereign, that he could have persuaded him to follow any measure whatsoever, even though it had been opposite to his own interest: but, here his favourite's inclination, and his own interest happened to coincide; and he accordingly assented to the proposal. The conditions of the alliance being regulated between the cardinal and M. de Villeroy, secretary of state, who repaired to London for that purpose, the king of France sent over a solemn embassy, composed of the admiral de Bonnivet, Stephen Poncher bishop of Paris, joined to Villeroy, and impowered to renew the treaty of friendship between the two kings; to treat of a league with the pope, and other princes of Christendom, for the defence of religion and the catholic church; of the match between the dauphin and the princess Mary; of the restitution of Tournay, St. Amand, and Mortagne; and of an interview between the two kings. They brought over letters patent, by which Francis obliged himself to pay to his dear friend the cardinal of York, a pension of ten thousand livres, in return for his giving up the administration of the bishopric of Tournay. All these articles being duly discussed, four separate treaties were signed, and ratified in October. In the first, the contracting parties agreed, That the marriage should be celebrated when the dauphin should have attained the fourteenth year of his age: That Mary's portion should amount to three hundred and thirty thousand crowns of gold: and, That her jointure should be equal to that of Anne of Bretagne, and Mary of England, who had been wives to Lewis XII. The second related to the restitution of Tournay, for which Francis engaged to pay six hundred thousand crowns; but from this sum

A new alliance between France and England.

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he was left at liberty to deduct the portion of the princess Mary. The third concerned certain precautions taken, to prevent an infraction of the peace, as well as to procure prompt reparation for the damage that might be sustained by the subjects of either power. And the fourth stipulated an interview between the two monarchs, in the village of Sandenfelt, near Ardres in Picardy. These treaties being ratified, the princess Mary was betrothed to the dauphin, in St. Paul's church at London; and the earl of Worcester, with West bishop of Ely, and a magnificent train, sent over to demand the performance of Francis, who swore to the observance of the treaties, delivered hostages for the payment of the money, and in the name of his son, fulfilled the contract of marriage.

Rymer.

During these transactions, the pope appointed cardinal Laurentius Campejus his legate in England, with directions to solicit Henry's engagement in the general league or quinquennial truce; and authority to demand a tenth of the English clergy. Wolsey was no sooner informed of this appointment, than he sent one of his confidants to Rome, with a remonstrance to his holiness, importing that the nomination of another legate, while he resided cardinal in England, was such an affront as would destroy his credit and influence, and render him incapable of serving the holy see effectually. Leo being unwilling to disoblige such a favourite minister, joined him in the legation with Campejus, whom the English cardinal found means to detain at Boulogne, until he received the pope's answer. Then understanding, that Campejus was come with a very mean equipage, he presented him with some bales of red cloth for garments to his retinue, and twelve sumpter mules richly caparisoned; with which he made a magnificent entry into London. During the procession, however, one of the mules happened

Defensive league concluded at London.

A. C. 1518. ed to fall, and the coffers which he carried flying open, discovered nothing but rags, broken meat, and marrow-bones; a circumstance which exposed the foreign cardinal to the ridicule of the populace. Such was the influence that Wolsey had gained at the court of Rome, that when cardinal Adrian de Cornetto was deposed and stripped of all his benefices, in consequence of his having engaged in a conspiracy against the pope, the administration of the bishopric of Bath and Wells, which he possessed in England, was given to the cardinal of York: and now he and his colleague Campejus were vested with the extraordinary power of granting plenary indulgences. Their negotiation, however, proceeded but slowly; for, though Leo impowered them by an express bull, to conclude a league against the Turks, between the emperor and the kings of England, France, and Spain, all that they could obtain was, a defensive alliance in favour of the holy see, and their respective dominions, in case they should be attacked by the Infidels. The pope, by them declared chief of this league, was extremely mortified to find them so averse to an offensive association, by virtue of which he could have amassed sums of money; nevertheless, he approved and ratified the treaty, and the report of an intended invasion by the Infidels immediately vanished.

Ld. Herbert.

A. R. Pub.

The peace which Europe now enjoyed was interrupted by the death of the emperor Maximillian, who was no sooner in his grave, than the kings of France and Spain openly declared themselves competitors for the imperial throne; and began to cabal among the electors. The pope sincerely wished that neither should ascend the imperial throne, because both had such connexions with Italy, that he of the two who should be chosen, would have it in his power to embroil that country. The king of England had still a hankering after the imperial dig-

A. C. 1519.

dignity, and sent Richard Pace, as his ambassador, to found the electors; but, he was too late in his application: and at length, the interest of Charles prevailing, he was elected emperor at the diet of Frankfort. Leo finding all opposition would be in vain, assented to the election with a good grace; but Francis was extremely mortified at his disappointment, which inflamed the jealousy that subsisted between him and Charles; and hastened the rupture that ensued. Indeed, their differences were such as could not be easily terminated in an amicable manner. Francis had pretensions to the kingdom of Naples, and reason to complain that his rival had not restored the kingdom of Navarre to John D'Albret, according to the stipulations of the treaty of Noyons. On the other hand, Charles laid claim to the dutchy of Burgundy, as heir to the ancient dukes, as well as to the dutchy of Milan, which, though possessed by Francis, was a fief of the empire. Another source of contention was the duke of Guelderland, who, though a professed enemy of the emperor, was publicly protected by Francis. The pope was obliged to temporize with both, though of the two he was inclined to favour Charles; and Henry of England, by a steady and discreet conduct, might have held the ballance of power betwixt those two rivals, so as to cause either scale to preponderate, according to the necessity of the times, or the dictates of his own interest. These, however, he did not always regard; because he was absolutely ruled by the passions and caprice of his favourite Wolsey, whom Charles and Francis cultivated with the utmost assiduity, well knowing, there was no other way to procure the friendship and assistance of England, which was deemed so necessary to the success of their designs. Besides presents and pensions offered to this idol, they vied with each other in caressing him with the grossest

A. C. 1519.

Charles king
of Spain
succeeds his
grandfather
Maximilian
on the im-
perial
throne.

Mutual jea-
lousy of
Charles and
Francis.

Mezerai.

Both court
the good
graces of
Wolsey

adu-

A. C. 1519. adulation, calling him in their letters, their friend, their patron, and their father; and extolling his virtue, prudence, and capacity, in the most hyperbolical expressions. He cunningly made use of these testimonies, not only to flatter his master's vanity, by representing how formidable he must be to those two potentates, who stooped so low as to court the good graces of his minister, but, likewise to enhance his own merit in the opinion of Henry, who could not help observing, that Wolsey's parts must have been greatly superior to those of all other favourites, when they were thus acknowledged by the greatest princes of Christendom. He actually looked upon himself as the arbiter of Europe, and remained so fully convinced of his cardinal's capacity, that he saw nothing but with his eyes, and was in every thing directed solely by his advice. Wolsey had now attained the very highest pinnacle of fortune; he was favourite, prime-minister, lord high chancellor, administrator of the see of Bath and Wells, archbishop of York, cardinal, and legate a latere. He received annual pensions from the emperor and the king of France, drew immense profits from the office of chancellor, by means of the privileges annexed to it by his majesty; and the king not only loaded him with rich presents, but also furnished him with a great number of opportunities to increase his revenues. The pope, the emperor, the king of France, and the republic of Venice courted his favour with the utmost emulation; and Francis in particular sent him letters-patent, consenting, that he should regulate the ceremonial of his interview with Henry.

Wolsey was so intoxicated by this flow of prosperity, that his pride and arrogance surmounted all bounds. He could no longer bear equality in his legation; and therefore prevailed upon the pope to recal Campejus, and leave him invested with the sole

That prelate
is intoxica-
ted with
power.

sole legatine power. He now celebrated mass as if A. C. 1512. he had been pope in reality, attended by bishops and dukes; and earls presented him with the water and towel. He ordered the cross of York, and another for his legatine function, to be carried before him by two of the tallest priests that could be found. He erected a new court of judicature, called the legate's court, in effect a court of conscience, that took cognizance of almost all the actions of life; and one John Allen being appointed judge of this bench, acted with incredible rapaciousness and extortion, on pretence of reforming the morals of the people. He pretended that his jurisdiction extended to all suits arising from wills and contracts of marriage; and tried an infinite number of causes, whilst the king's judges durst not oppose this innovation. At the same time, the cardinal Herbert; legate disposed of all the benefices of the kingdom in favour of his own creatures, without paying the least regard to the rights of churches, monasteries, or patrons. At length the archbishop of Canterbury, from a motive of conscience, informed the king of this oppression; and Henry not only seemed surprised at the cardinal's insolence, but desired the old bishop to tell him, that he expected he would reform all those abuses. This remonstrance produced no other effect, than that of augmenting Wolsey's hatred to the archbishop. But his agent, Allen, being afterwards accused by one John London, a simple priest, the complaint reached the ears of the king, who reprimanded the cardinal with such severity, that he was more circumspect in the sequel. The great wealth, power, and authority, which he enjoyed in England, could not satisfy his ambition, while there was one degree of ecclesiastical dignity which he had not yet attained. He Wolsey had already begun to take measures for obtaining the papacy, whenever the holy see should be aspires at the papacy. come

A. C. 1519. come vacant; and the king of France had assured him of the votes of fourteen cardinals; but, since Charles was elected emperor, he seemed to think that prince more capable of raising him to St. Peter's chair, and began gradually to wean his master from the interest of France, and engage him in behalf of the house of Austria. Nevertheless, he would not declare himself so far as to prevent the interview between Henry and Francis, because he could not prevail upon himself to resign the pleasure of appearing at the court of France, with all the pomp of ecclesiastical magnificence; and of shewing himself to his countrymen, honoured and caressed by such a powerful monarch. But he was resolved to take such measures as would hinder Francis from turning this interview to the prejudice of the emperor, who at this period gained an incredible accession of wealth by the prowess of Fernando Cortez, in his conquest of the Mexican empire.

Ld. Herbert.

Wolsey having regulated the ceremonial of the interview, the king repaired to Canterbury in the latter end of May, in order to pass his Whitsuntide in that city, and from thence proceed to Calais; but next day he was given to understand that the emperor had landed at Dover. The whole court, and even the king himself, was surprised at the arrival of Charles, which had been preconcerted between that prince and the cardinal, to whom he had promised his influence with the pope, towards procuring for him the bishopric of Bajadox. Wolsey was sent to compliment the emperor at Dover, where the king met him next day, and conducted him to Canterbury; whither also the queen came to visit her nephew, whom she had never seen before. The emperor's design in this voyage was to divert Henry from his purposed interview with Francis, from which, however, the king of

Eng-

Charles emperor elect arrives in England.

A&T. Pub.

England thought he could not recede with honour; but, in all probability, he gained over Wolsey entirely to his interest, by promising to support his designs upon the papacy; and Henry assured him that he would never engage with the French king in any measure that should be prejudicial to his imperial majesty. After having been magnificently entertained during the holidays, he took leave of his aunt Catherine and Henry, and embarked at Sandwich for Flanders, very well satisfied with the success of his visit. The same day the king of England sailed from Dover for Calais; and on the fourth day of June, he removed with his own queen, the queen dowager of France, and all his retinue, to a superb wooden house, erected near the place of interview: it was furnished in the most ostentatious manner, and from the chapel there was a private gallery, that reached to the strong castle of Guisnes. The house, which Francis pitched near Ardres, was rather large than sumptuous; for he had intended to lodge in a pavilion of cloth of gold, which was blown down by the wind, so that he was obliged to build a wooden edifice in a hurry. Before the two monarchs met, cardinal Wolsey waited upon the French king with some proposals touching the late alliance; and, after some conferences, Francis agreed that when the million of crowns, stipulated in the last treaty, should be liquidated, he should continue to pay to the king of England an annual pension of one hundred thousand livres; that, in case of the dauphin's becoming king of England by his marriage with the princess Mary, this pension should be continued to her and her heirs for ever; and that the differences between England and Scotland should be referred to the arbitration of Louisa of Savoy, mother to the king of France, and cardinal Wolsey. On the seventh of June the two kings met on

Interview
between
Henry and
the French
king.

A. C. 1520. horseback, in the valley of Arden, where they alighted; and, after mutual salutation, walked arm in arm into a rich tent, pitched for their accommodation. On Monday the eleventh day of the month, the jousts and tournaments began in sight of the ladies, for whom scaffolds were erected. Both kings entered the lists, and behaved with great dexterity; though Henry bore away the honour of the field. He ran a tilt against monsieur de Grandeville, whom he disabled at the second encounter. He engaged monsieur de Montmorency, whom, however, he could not unhorse. He fought at faulchion with a French nobleman, who presented him with his courser, in token of submission; he disarmed monsieur de Fleurance; and signalized himself above all others in throwing the javelin, wielding the sword and target, and fighting with the two-handed sword, an exercise at which Francis was likewise very expert. This monarch, probably, thought he should find his account in gratifying Henry's vanity, by allowing him to enjoy this petty preëminence. These exercises being finished, the two kings regaled each other with feasting, balls, masquerades, and mutual presents. They seemed to vie with each other in splendor and magnificence; insomuch that the place of this interview was stiled, the field of cloth of gold. At length they parted on the twenty-fourth day of June; and Henry, with his train, returned to Calais. On the tenth of July the king returned the emperor's compliment, by visiting him and his aunt Margaret at Gravelines; and next day they accompanied him back to Calais, where they were royally entertained. Francis was greatly alarmed at these reciprocal visits: and his jealousy was not without foundation; for, on this occasion, they, in all probability, projected the alliance which was concluded in the sequel. In the mean time Henry sailed with the first

fair

Polyd. Vign.
Hall.
Herbert.

fair wind for England, where he and his retinue arrived in safety; and Charles repaired to Aix-la-Chapel, where he was solemnly crowned emperor on the twenty-first day of October. A. C. 1520.

Luther's doctrine having by this time gained ground in almost every district of Germany, pope Leo, after having in vain attempted to soothe him with promises, and intimidate him with threats, at length published a bull of excommunication against him and all his adherents. Luther appealed from this sentence to a general council, and set his holiness at defiance. Then the pope endeavoured to persuade the elector of Saxony to put him to death, or send him to Rome; but, that prince refusing to comply with his request, the papal nuncio ordered Luther's books to be publicly burned at Cologne; and Luther, in revenge, committed the body of the canon law to the flames at Wirtemberg, and published a book to justify his conduct. He was supported by the elector of Saxony, who passionately desired to see a reformation in the church: he was seconded in his endeavours by Ulricus, Zuin-
glius, and Philip Melancthon, a man of equal piety and learning; and he was encouraged to persevere by Erasmus, who assured him he had many favourers in England and the Low Countries; and exhorted him to proceed with modesty and circumspection. The emperor, after his coronation, assembled a diet at Worms; where, being instigated by the complaints and remonstrances of the pope, he summoned Luther to appear at the assembly, and granted him a safe-conduct for the security of his person; he accordingly appeared, and, refusing to retract his tenets, was with his favourers, proscribed by public edict. Every zealous papist drew his
pen against this reformer; and, among the rest, Henry king of England declared himself a champion of the Roman church. He was particularly

A. C. 1521.

Sleidan.

Herbert.

A. C. 1521. incensed against Luther for the liberties he had taken with Thomas Aquinas, an author in great request both with the king and the cardinal. Thus animated, he composed a book, *De Septem Sacramentis*; in which he strenuously opposed Luther in the article of indulgences, the number of sacraments, and the papal authority. This performance was presented by John Clarke, dean of Windsor, in full consistory, to the pope, who received it with great solemnity of applause; and, with the unanimous consent of the college of cardinals, issued a bull, in which he bestowed upon Henry the honourable title of *Fidei Defensor*, or Defender of the faith.

The king writes against Luther.

and is honoured with the title of *Fidei Defensor*.

War between the emperor and the French king.

The emperor and the king of France were so jealous of each other, that they wanted nothing but a pretext to commence hostilities. Francis, therefore, on pretence of his rival's having infringed the treaty of Noyon, sent an army into Navarre, under the command of Lesparre of the house of Foix; who, finding that kingdom almost wholly destitute of troops, reduced it in the space of fifteen days. Elevated with this success, he entered Spain, and laid siege to Logroño, in the province of Guipuscoa. The Spaniards, though divided into factions, were so alarmed at this invasion, that they united for their common safety. Having assembled a numerous army, they defeated and took the French general, and recovered Navarre in less time than Lesparre had spent in the conquest of that kingdom. Francis, not contented with this attack, spirited up a new enemy against Charles, in the person of Robert de la Marck, prince of Sedan, and sovereign of Bouillon; who, thinking himself injured by the emperor, sent him a message of defiance; and, putting himself at the head of five thousand men, whom he had enlisted in France, invested Vireton, a place in the province of Luxembourg. Charles immediately summoned the king

king of England to his assistance, according to the stipulations of the league of London; and Henry, influenced by the cardinal, was glad of this opportunity to lay the blame of the rupture upon Francis. He forthwith sent an ambassador to that prince, requiring him to desist from all hostilities against the emperor, not only in Luxembourg, but likewise in Navarre; and Francis thought proper to comply with his demand, rather than furnish Henry with a colour to declare for his rival. The French king had already concluded a league with the pope for conquering and dividing between them the kingdom of Naples; but, Francis distrusting Leo's sincerity, and procrastinating the ratification of this treaty, the pope suspected him in his turn, and privately engaged in a league with the emperor for driving the French out of the Milanese, and restoring that dutchy to Francis Sforza. The pope enlisted six thousand Swiss in his service, and augmented his forces on various pretences. The emperor ordered the viceroy of Naples to hold the troops of that kingdom ready to march at the first notice; and Prosper Colonna was declared general of the league. Before they declared themselves openly, they made unsuccessful attempts to surprize Genoa, Milan, and Como; and, the suspicion of Francis being at length aroused, he levied twenty thousand Swiss, and sent them to Milan, under the command of Lautrec. By this time Prosper Colonna, having assembled his forces, invested Parma; but was obliged to raise the siege by Lautrec, who pursued him beyond the boundaries of the Milanese; and, supposing he had nothing farther to fear from his efforts, withdrew Lescun with his garrison from Parma. The inhabitants immediately declared for the pope; Lautrec was abandoned by the Swiss; and Prosper Colonna, pursuing him in his turn, not only obliged him to retire to Como, but also

Guicciardini.
ni.

A. C. 1521. subdued the whole Milanese, except a few considerable places.

Death of
pope Leo X.

The French, in all likelihood, would have been entirely expelled from Italy before the end of the campaign, had not the progress of the allies been stopped by the death of pope Leo, who is said to have died of excess of joy, at the success of the league. The news of his decease no sooner reached the army than the troops which he had enlisted dispersed; and the Florentines returned to their own country: the duke of Ferrara recovered some of his places in the Romagna; and Francis Maria de la Rovera retrieved the duchy of Urbino. Lautrec might now have triumphed in his turn, had he been properly supported; but Francis was entirely engrossed by the means of defending himself in Picardy and Flanders. The emperor, not contented with having humbled Robert de la Marck, assembled a numerous army, and bestowed the command of it upon the count de Nassau, who approaching Champagne, Francis represented to the king of England that he could no longer forbear taking arms in his own defence, as Charles certainly intended to invade his dominions. Henry pretended he would remain neuter in the quarrel; of which, however, he offered himself as the arbitrator, proposing that they should send their plenipotentiaries, by the beginning of August, to Calais, where they should find cardinal Wolsey, vested with full power to act in his name as mediator. Charles willingly embraced this proposal, because he had made sure of the favourite; and Francis durst not reject it, lest he should disoblige the king of England: it was therefore agreed that the plenipotentiaries of the two monarchs, the pope's nuncio, and the cardinal, should meet at the appointed time and place; but, before this congress was opened, the lord of Liques, with an army of the emperor's subjects, made himself master of

Mor-

Henry offers
himself as
umpire be-
tween the
emperor and
Francis.

Mezerai.

Mortagne, and St. Amand, to which he had laid some family claim; the governor of Flanders invested Tournay, and the Imperialists razed the town of Ardres. A. C. 1521.

On the fourth day of August the conferences were opened at Calais, where the cardinal appeared with all the pomp of a sovereign, in quality of Henry's lieutenant, possessed of the great seal of England, and vested with ample power to terminate the quarrel between the two parties; to renew the alliance between France and England; and conclude any other league that should be for his master's interest. During this negotiation, the imperial general took Mouzon in Champagne, and besieged Mezieres; which, however, he could not reduce. Then he retired into the county of Namur; and, the French army, being by this time assembled, marched into Flanders; where they subdued several places of importance, and had well nigh surprised the emperor in his retreat towards Valenciennes. At the same time another body of French forces was sent into Navarre, under the conduct of admiral Bonnivet, who besieged and took the important town of Fontarabia, which is reckoned one of the keys of Spain. Wolfey, meanwhile, continued to preside at the congress; but, seemed less solicitous about procuring an accommodation, than in fixing the blame of the rupture upon Francis. The emperor's plenipotentiaries demanded, That the French king would restore Burgundy to their master, and renounce all pretensions to the homage of Flanders and Artois. The French not only rejected these articles with disdain, but moreover, insisted upon the restitution of Milan and Navarre, as well as upon the emperor's relinquishing his enterprize upon Tournay, which he still kept besieged. As neither party would abate in their demands, the cardinal declared, that he saw

Congress at
Calais inef-
fectual.

Rymer.

A. C. 1521. no prospect of an accommodation; and desired the plenipotentiaries of both powers to sign a treaty, importing, That the herring fishers of France, and the Low Countries, might fish unmolested until the end of January: That the subjects of the sovereigns at war should not pursue any vessel into the ports of England, or commit any violence in his dominions: That the pope's nuncio and the plenipotentiaries at the congress, might freely retire without danger to their persons and retinues: and, That the king of England, and the cardinal legate his lieutenant, should be the conservators of these conventions, to be ratified in ten days. They were accordingly signed and ratified; and the war continuing to rage with great animosity, Francis made himself master of Hesdin; while Tournay surrendered to the emperor.

Rymer.

League
against
France, be-
tween the
emperor and
Henry.

Wolsey, after some feigned endeavours to find out other expedients for a pacification, repaired to Bruges, where he concluded a league between Henry and the emperor against France, by which the king of England obliged himself to attack Francis with an army of forty thousand men; and to bestow upon Charles the princess Mary, who had already been betrothed to the dauphin. Thus Henry declared himself the enemy of Francis, without the least provocation, and contrary to all the rules of sound policy, considering the vast power of the emperor, which it was his interest to balance. But, this step was like all the rest of his conduct, suggested by cardinal Wolsey, whose heart was set upon the papacy, which he hoped to obtain by the influence of Charles, who had already procured for him the bishopric of Palencia in Castile, with the administration of the see of Badajox. His legation was protracted for two years; and Leo before his death had issued a bull, empowering him to create fifty knights, as many counts palatine, the like number

number of acolytes and chaplains, and forty apostolical notaries: to legitimate bastards, grant the doctor's degree in all the faculties, as well as all sorts of dispensations: nay, to all the honours, wealth, and power he already possessed, he this year received the addition of the rich abbey of St. Alban's in commendam. No wonder that a prelate of his ambition, thus forwarded by every gale of prosperity, should aspire at the highest dignity of the church. He is even said to have been so impatient to possess St. Peter's chair, that he was concerned in abridging the days of Leo by poison. Be that as it may, he was certainly so arrogant as to affect contempt for the nobility of the kingdom; and so vindictive, that the most powerful peer in England could not disoblige him with impunity.

His revengeful disposition appeared too plainly in the fate of the duke of Buckingham, a weak nobleman of strong passions and the most childish vanity; who was so unguarded as to say, in a private company, that should the king die without issue, he would lay claim to the crown as the descendant of Anne of Gloucester, grand-daughter of Edward III. and that, should he ever ascend the throne, he would punish Wolsey according to his demerit. This expression was reported to the cardinal, who forthwith devoted him to destruction. He bribed some of his domestics to betray the private life and conversation of their master. From their information, the cardinal learned that he corresponded with one Hopkins, a monk in the priory of Hinton, who pretended to the gift of prophecy; and flattered the duke with assurances of his succeeding to the throne of England. Wolsey, having thus collected sufficient matter for an impeachment, deprived him of his two principal supports, the earl of Northumberland, his father-in-law, who

A. C. 1531. was committed to the Tower, on the frivolous pretence of his claiming some wards to which he had no title; and his son-in-law the earl of Surrey, who was appointed governor of Ireland, that he might be at a distance from London. These previous steps being taken, Edward Stafford duke of Buckingham was arrested and accused of high-treason. The chief evidence against him was one Knevit, whom he had dismissed from his service for some misdemeanors. He was taxed with having frequently consulted Hopkins the monk, touching the succession of the crown, as well as with having affected popularity; with having declared to Knevit, that if he were ill used he would execute against Henry the scheme which his father had projected against Richard III. whom that nobleman meant to have assassinated with a knife, had he been admitted into his presence; and with having said to lord Abergavenny, that should the king die he would assume the rule of the realm, in spite of all opposition; adding, that should the lord Abergavenny disclose his purpose, he would call him to account in single combat. He was tried by one duke, one marquis, seven earls, and twelve barons, before the duke of Norfolk, appointed high-steward for the occasion. When he heard the indictment read, he said it was a false forged conspiracy: nevertheless, he was convicted upon the evidence of Knevit, Hopkins, and two others; and condemned to die the death of a traitor. The duke of Norfolk could not help shedding tears when he pronounced his sentence; to which the duke replied, "My lord of Norfolk, you speak to me as to a traitor; but, traitor was I never. My lords, I malign you not for what you have done; but, may the eternal God forgive you my death, as I do. I shall never sue to the king for life: however, he is a gracious prince, and more grace may come from him."

Duke of
Buckingham con-
victed of
high trea-
son, and
beheaded.



STAFFORD Duke of *BUCKINGHAM*.

1483

“ him than I desire ; and so I intreat you, my
 “ lords, and all my fellows, to pray for me.” He
 was carried back to the Tower, where he received
 a message from the king, intimating, that his pun-
 ishment was mitigated into a decapitation ; and
 he suffered death accordingly, to the universal re-
 gret of the people, who did not scruple to impute
 his fate to the ill offices of the cardinal, whom they
 openly libelled as the son of a butcher, delighting
 in blood.

A. C. 1521.

Hall.
Hollingshed.
Herbert.

Henry now wanted nothing but a pretext for
 declaring his junction with the emperor. He al-
 leged, in his own justification, that Francis had
 been the aggressor in the affair of Robert de la
 Marck ; but, he was really incensed against the
 French king, for allowing the duke of Albany to
 return to Scotland from France, where he had been
 detained for some years at the request of the Eng-
 lish monarch, that he might intermeddle the more
 successfully in the Scottish affairs during the ab-
 sence of the regent. Besides, he imagined the duke
 intended to marry his sister, the queen dowager of
 Scotland, because she had sued for a divorce from
 her husband the earl of Angus ; and the duke of
 Albany had supported her suit at the court of Rome.
 Notwithstanding the pains which the regent took
 to clear himself of this suspicion, by assuring Henry
 he had no such intention ; and that his own wife
 was alive, the king of England wrote a letter to the
 Scottish parliament, accusing the duke of a design
 upon the crown, to the prejudice of the lawful so-
 vereign ; and desiring them to expel him from the
 realm. To this charge they answered, That he
 had been misinformed touching the designs of the
 duke of Albany, which were upright and honour-
 able ; that he himself had acted against the interests
 of his own nephew in fomenting disturbances in his
 kingdom : and, that if he was not inclined to re-
 new

A. C. 1522.

A. C. 1522.

new the truce with the regent, they would endeavour to defend their country from his attacks. When he received this answer, together with a letter from his sister, reproaching him for his sinister designs upon her son James, he ordered the lord Dacres to march with five hundred men to the borders of Scotland, and proclaim, that the Scottish parliament should make peace with him within a certain time at their peril. His aim was to furnish his own party in that kingdom with a pretence for refusing to serve the regent, should he attempt to make a diversion in favour of Francis. So far the expedient succeeded. The duke of Albany having raised an army to make an irruption into England, they no sooner approached the frontiers, than many lords of distinction refused to proceed, declaring they would not involve their country in an unnecessary war with England. The regent finding it impracticable to do any thing of consequence for his French ally, proposed a truce, to which the king of England readily assented. The regent then returned to Paris, to concert new measures with Francis; while Henry thus dexterously avoided a war with Scotland, which would have greatly interfered with his other projects.

Buchanan.

Truce with
Scotland.

A&T. Pub.

Henry de-
clares war
against
France.

The French king being informed of what passed between the emperor and the cardinal at Bruges, sent letters patent to Henry, in which he inserted the article of the league of London, obliging them to assist each other mutually; then he recapitulated every measure the emperor had taken against him in Italy, Champagne, and Flanders; and summoned the king of England to execute the treaty, to which he had so solemnly sworn. Henry affirmed, that Francis was the first aggressor, and as he had broken his word with regard to the duke of Albany, the English monarch sent over Clarendieux the herald, to declare war against him as a perturbator of

of the peace of Europe. In order to maintain this A. C. 1522.
war, which was altogether unjust and impolitic, the king, by the advice of the cardinal, issued warrants to all sheriffs and constables, to number the people from the age of sixteen upwards, and specify the effects of each individual, that he might borrow a tenth of the laity, and a fourth of the clergy, besides twenty thousand pounds, which he exacted by way of loan from the city of London. This dangerous expedient produced great clamours among the people, who loudly exclaimed against Wolfey as the author of the imposition; and the London merchants refused to specify the value of their effects, alledging, that as their substance was distributed in various channels of commerce, it could not be properly ascertained: so that Henry, rather than expose himself to intestine commotions, relaxed in the severity with which he had begun to collect the loan; and received what the merchants thought proper to present for his service.

Wolfey was not so chagrined at this miscarriage, as at his disappointment with respect to the papacy. Though the emperor had promised to support his pretensions with all his interest, he had no intention to keep his word. He wanted to have a pope who should be wholly devoted to his interest; and he knew Wolfey too well, to think he should be able to govern such a pontiff: he therefore resolved to promote his own preceptor cardinal Adrian Florentius, a native of Utrecht, to the papacy; and to conduct his election in such a manner, that he should not run the risque of forfeiting the friendship of Wolfey, who had reminded him of his promise; and sent Richard Pace to manage his interest at Rome, immediately after the decease of Leo. Charles took his measures on this occasion with such art and address, that Adrian was unanimously chosen pope in the conclave, without the emperor's appearing

A. C. 1522. appearing to intermeddle in the affair. The very choice, however, of this person, plainly pointed out the directors of the election; and doubtless, Wolsey must have been equally mortified and incensed against Charles: though he thought proper to suppress his resentment, in hope of being able to profit by the emperor's friendship on some future occasion, as the new pontiff Adrian VI. was old and infirm. On the other hand, Charles found it necessary to keep up a friendly correspondence with the English cardinal, well knowing it intirely depended on that prelate, whether or not he should live on amicable terms with Henry. It was therefore with a view to cultivate this friendship, that the emperor, in his voyage to Spain, touched on the twenty-sixth day of May at Dover, where he found the cardinal waiting for him with a magnificent retinue; and Henry in person, repairing to the same place, conducted him to Greenwich. From thence they went together to London, where they were entertained with great splendor, the cardinal celebrating mass before them, with all the pomp of a sovereign pontiff: then the king invited Charles to Windsor, where he was installed in the order of the garter, to which his brother Ferdinand had likewise been admitted.

The emperor arrives in England.

Treaty of Windsor.

After this ceremony, the two monarchs conferred together upon more important subjects, and ratified the treaty of Bruges in the most solemn manner. In the preamble, Henry declared himself absolved of all obligations to Francis, who had begun the war against the emperor; and sent the duke of Albany into Scotland, contrary to his engagements. The contracting parties agreed, That Charles should espouse the princess Mary, as soon as she should have attained the twelfth year of her age; and receive as her portion four hundred thousand crowns, from which, however, Henry should

should deduct what he had lent to Maximilian : That, if either party should recede from this contract of marriage, he should pay four hundred thousand crowns to the other : That, by a certain limited time, the emperor should invade France on the side of Spain with an army of forty thousand men, while the king of England should enter Picardy with the like number : That neither peace nor truce should be concluded without their mutual consent : That the conquests made in France should belong to him who had the best pretensions to the conquered places ; and, That in order to avoid all dispute on this subject, they should declare their separate pretensions before the beginning of the campaign : That the two powers should assist each other reciprocally, in case the king of England might be inclined to subdue Scotland, or reduce Ireland to implicit obedience ; or the emperor be disposed to recover Guelderland or Friesland ; and in case England should be attacked by the Scots, or Flanders by the duke of Guelderland : That they should submit to the spiritual jurisdiction of the cardinal of York, as pope's legate, and require him to pronounce the sentence of excommunication against that prince who should first violate the treaty, which in the mean time should be concealed from the knowledge of the common enemy : That the pope should be desired to engage in this league as a contracting party : That the Venetians should be admitted into the alliance, provided they would renounce their engagements with France : and, That the two principal powers should endeavour to detach the Swiss from the French interest, or at least, prevail upon them to remain neuter. This league being signed and confirmed, Charles obliged himself by letters patent, to make up to Henry the sums that were due to him from Francis, in case that prince should, on account of this alliance, refuse

Rymer.
Herbert.
Stowe.

A. C. 1522. fufe to continue the payments to which he had bound himself by treaty. The emperor likewise engaged to pay to Wolsey the pension of twelve thousand livres, which he had received from Francis in lieu of the bishopric of Tournay, besides an annuity of two thousand five hundred ducats, in the room of what he drew from the see of Badajox. But these liberalities of the emperor were amply recompensed by a large sum which he borrowed of Henry before his departure.

During the five weeks he spent in England, he won the affection of the whole court by his affability and presents; and recommended himself strongly to the nation in general, by appointing the earl of Surrey admiral of his fleet. While he resided at London, that nobleman, who commanded the joint fleets of England and Flanders, made two descents upon the coast of France, from whence he carried off considerable booty; and afterwards conveyed the emperor to Spain. On his return from this expedition, he was sent over to Calais with a body of forces, to join the count de Bure, the imperial general; and these having ravaged part of Picardy, undertook the siege of Hesdin, which, however they could not reduce. Then they attacked Dourlens, which they took and burned, together with Marquise, and some other places of little importance; but, the winter approaching, and dissension prevailing between the generals, the earl of Surrey withdrew his troops to Calais, and returned to England. The French king was still more unfortunate in Italy, where Lautrec, who commanded his troops, was defeated at Bicoque, by Prosper Colonna general of the allies. This last likewise made himself master of Genoa by surprise: so that Francis retained nothing in Italy but the castles of Milan and Cremona; and these were closely blocked up by the Imperialists. In Navarre the French kept their ground with good success,

under

Earl of
Surrey sent
with a body
of forces in-
to Picardy.
Herbert.

Guicciardi.

Mezerai.

under the marechal de Chabanes, who compelled the Spaniards to raise the siege of Fontarabia, which he supplied with a good garrison. A.C. 1524.

Cardinal Wolsey finding how disagreeable his method of raising money had been to the people, advised the king to convoke a parliament, which met in Black-Friars on the fifteenth day of April.

The clergy assembling in convocation at the same time, Wolsey demanded a subsidy of half their revenue, payable in five years; and though this exorbitant demand was opposed by Fox and Fisher, bishops of Winchester and Rochester, the assembly was so intimidated by his great power, and vindictive disposition, that they complied with his request. Having carried his point in the convocation, he harrangued the house of commons upon the injuries which the king had suffered at the hands of Francis, the necessity of engaging in a war with that monarch; and concluded with asking one fifth of all lay-effects, payable in four years. This extraordinary demand, though enforced by Sir Thomas More the speaker, met with great opposition; yet after obstinate debates, the commons agreed, That every man possessed of twenty pounds and upwards, of yearly rent, should pay two shillings in the pound; and the rest possessing above two pounds, should give one shilling in the pound; all under that sum, and above the age of sixteen, were taxed at four-pence a head, to be payed in two years. The cardinal, incensed at their rejecting his proposal, repaired to the house, and desired to hear their reasons for refusing his demands: but, they gave him to understand, that they never argued in presence of strangers; and he thought proper to retire, extremely mortified at his repulse. Yet the commons, to manifest their zeal for the king's service, voted a considerable addition to the subsidy.

In this parliament, some statutes were enacted in favour

Transactions in parliament.

Herbert.

A. C. 1523. favour of denisons, who trafficked in the same commodities that were sold by aliens: for the regulation of the coin: for the convenience of soldiers in the king's service: for attainting the duke of Buckingham, and restoring his son lord Henry Stafford, to his honours and estate: and, for empowering the king to repeal attainders, by his letters patent.

Christian
king of
Denmark
visits the
court of
England.

About this time too, Henry instituted the College of Physicians in London, to whom he granted by charter divers privileges, which they enjoy to this day. Pope Adrian prolonged Wolfey's legation for five years, and bestowed upon him the rich bishopric of Durham, in lieu of Bath and Wells, which he resigned. Christian, king of Sweden and Denmark, being driven out of both kingdoms for his cruelty and oppression, arrived in England with his queen, who was sister to the emperor; and on that account they met with a very honourable reception. Henry affected to renew the treaty of alliance between England and Denmark, as if he had been in actual possession of his dominions; and after they had received some valuable presents, they returned to Flanders.

Herbert.

League a-
gainst
Francis.

The expedition against France was hastened by an incident very unfavourable for Francis. The duke of Bourbon, constable of that kingdom, being persecuted by the king's mother, whose affection he had slighted, threw himself into the arms of the emperor, and the king of England, with whom he engaged in a league offensive and defensive, obliging himself to act against Francis in the heart of his dominions, with an army of his own vassals, reinforced by seven thousand Imperialists, while Charles and Henry should attack them in Bearne and Picardy. He had stipulated in this treaty, That after they should have conquered France, he should have for his share Provence erected into a kingdom; and

Mezerai.

espouse

espouse the emperor's sister Eleonora, widow of Don Manuel king of Portugal. Francis, who never dreamed of these machinations, was wholly employed in making preparations for recovering the dutchy of Milan; and the pope's heart was set upon a general war against the Infidels. For this purpose he endeavoured to effect a truce between the European powers; and the emperor declared, he would willingly assent to the proposal, provided the truce could be settled for a term of years, during which they might have time to execute some scheme of importance. Adrian, believing him sincere in his professions, pressed the king of France to agree that hostilities should cease for three years; but that prince declined the proposal, because he plainly perceived, that such a long truce would enable his enemies to strengthen themselves in their conquest of Milan. Then the emperor, and the king of England, persuaded the pope to interpose his apostolical power, in imitation of his predecessors; and Adrian actually published a bull, ordaining a truce for three years among all the European powers, on pain of excommunication and interdiction to those who should disobey his mandate. Francis, without paying the least regard to this ordinance, continued his preparations, and ordered his forces to file off towards the frontiers of Italy; and, his holiness believing, that the obstinacy of the French king was the only obstacle to the execution of his grand scheme against the Turks, was insensibly drawn into a league against France, with the emperor, the king of England, Ferdinand archduke of Austria, brother to the emperor, the duke of Milan, the Genoese, and the Florentines. The intention of these allies was to seduce Francis into Italy, that while he should be engaged in the conquest of Milan, they might attack his dominions in

A. C. 1522. three different places. Charles had given orders for levying an army of Spaniards to act in Navarre ; the troops of the Low Countries, joined by a body of English, were destined for the invasion of Picardy ; but they chiefly depended upon the duke of Bourbon's revolt, in the heart of France, of which Francis had not yet the smallest suspicion.

That prince understanding the defenceless condition of Milan, which the emperor had purposely omitted to secure, set out for Lyons, in his way to Italy, while the constable pretended to be sick at Moulins, that he might have an excuse for not attending his sovereign. The king, however, was at length informed by two of his domestics, that he carried on a private correspondence with Charles, and repaired directly to Moulins, where he taxed him with this treasonable communication.

The duke frankly owned, that the emperor had sounded him on the subject, by the count de Roelx ; but, that he had rejected his proposals, and intended to have informed his majesty of the transaction, as soon as his health should have permitted him to appear at court. Whether Francis believed his professions, or thought it would be dangerous to arrest him in the midst of his own adherents, he ordered him to follow him to Lyons,

Du Bellay.

Duke of
Bourbon
escapes into
Germany.

Mezerai.

and the constable actually began the journey in a litter ; but, understanding, that two of his confidants were arrested at court, he retired privately from his train with one attendant, and travelling through bye-roads, arrived safely in Germany. The king, suspecting from his flight, that there was some dangerous conspiracy in France, postponed his departure for Italy, though he sent thither his army, under the conduct of admiral Bonni-vet, who passed the Alps about the beginning of September, just at the same juncture when the emperor assembled his army in Spain, and the Eng-

lish

lish forces arrived at Calais, to act in Picardy in conjunction with the Flemings. A. C. 1523.

The castle of Milan had now surrendered to Prosper Colonna; but, the fortifications of the place were in such a ruinous condition, that if Bonnivet, with his forty thousand men, had marched directly to that capital, he would have found the gates open; but while he amused himself with the reduction of Novaro and Vigevano, the imperial general, though his troops did not exceed the number of fifteen thousand, repaired the bulwarks with such dexterity and dispatch, that when Bonnivet approached the place, he found it in a condition to sustain a siege. Thus disappointed, he posted himself at Cheravalla, in hope of intercepting the convoys of the enemy; but he took his measures so awkwardly, that he himself was obliged to retire for want of provision. Mean while Colonna dying, was succeeded in command by Lanoy the viceroy of Naples; but nothing of moment was transacted until the duke of Bourbon arrived at the army, with the commission of general in chief to the emperor. In Bearne the Spaniards made a fruitless attempt upon Bayonne, and then undertook the siege of Fontarabia, which they reduced by the treachery of Fraüget, the governor. In Champagne, the count de Furstenburg, with eight thousand Landsquenets, took Cony and Montclair: but was afterwards worsted at Neufchatel by the duke de Guise, who compelled him to retire with precipitation.

With respect to the campaign in Picardy, the king of England sent an army of six hundred demilances, two hundred archers on horseback, three thousand on foot, five thousand billmen, and half that number of pioneers, to Calais, under the command of the duke of Suffolk, who draughted as an addition seventeen hundred soldiers from that gar-

Campaign in
Italy,
Bearne,
and Cham-
pagne.

A. C. 1523.
Duke of
Suffolk
makes a
considerable
progress in
France.

rison; and with these he made an irruption into the enemy's country. On the twentieth day of September he was joined by the count de Bure, with such a number of men as formed, together with the English, about twenty thousand. Thus reinforced, the duke coasted the river Soam, and besieged Bray, which he took by assault; then, passing the river, he made himself master of Roye and Montdidier; and, in a word, advanced within eleven leagues of Paris, without meeting with the least opposition, except in a small skirmish with a body of French, commanded by monsieur de Pontdormy, who escaped with great difficulty. Francis, extremely alarmed at their progress, detached from Lyons the duke de Vendome with all the troops he could assemble for the defence of his capital; and, the winter approaching with great severity, the allies thought proper to retire, though they took Bouchain in their retreat; nevertheless, all the places they had garrisoned were immediately retaken by the French general. Henry had ordered the lord Montjoy to carry a reinforcement of six thousand men to the duke of Suffolk, when he understood that nobleman had left his artillery at Valenciennes, and returned to Calais, where he resolved to stay until the king's anger should be appeased; for Henry was incensed at the dissolution of the allied army.

Herbert.
Du Bellay.

During these transactions pope Adrian died, not without suspicion of poison, and the conclave was divided between cardinal Colonna and Julio de Medicis, bastard of pope Leo's uncle; who, after a debate that lasted fifty days, was unanimously elected pope, and assumed the name of Clement VII. Wolfey no sooner heard of Adrian's death, than he desired the king to write a letter with his own hand to the emperor, recommending him in the strongest manner to the papacy: but Charles

Wolfey again disap-
pointed of
the papacy.

had

had already taken his measures in favour of Julio; and the English cardinal affected to bear his disappointment with a good grace. Though, in all probability, his heart glowed with revenge against the emperor, he dissembled his resentment: and the king's resident at Rome was ordered to present his compliments of congratulation to the new pope, from whom he obtained a perpetual grant of the legatine power, which had never been conferred for life upon any other person.

Herbert.

Henry was not so engrossed by his war with France, but that he still intermeddled in the affairs of Scotland. His aim was to take the advantage of his nephew's minority, in order to subdue his country; and, as the greatest obstacle to this design was the vigilance and activity of the duke of Albany, he endeavoured to prevent that nobleman's return from France: he ordered his admiral to intercept him, if possible, in the narrow seas; and, in the mean time, sent the earl of Surrey with an army, to intimidate his partisans in Scotland. The English forces entered that kingdom accordingly, where they took Jedburgh, and ravaged the neighbourhood: while the Scottish party, whom Henry had bribed to his interest, incessantly exclaimed that nothing could save the kingdom from total ruin, but a peace with England. At length the regent found means to deceive the English admiral, and arrived at Edinburgh; where, convening the nobility, he exhorted them to oppose the designs of Henry with vigour and dispatch. Though he found them generally averse to his proposal, he assembled an army, and advanced to the frontiers; but the majority of the Scottish lords absolutely refused to cross the English border, alledging, that it was sufficient for them to defend their own country from invasion. The duke, extremely mortified at their refusal, ordered the French auxiliaries to besiege

Affairs of Scotland.

A. C. 1523. the castle of Wark, in which they made some progress; and when the breach was thought practicable, gave a desperate assault: but they were repulsed with great slaughter; and the regent understanding that the earl of Surrey was on his march to attack him with a formidable army, thought proper to retire. In the midst of those quarrels that divided the powers of Europe, the reformation gained ground in Germany: the canton of Zurich, converted by the preaching of Zuinglius, renounced divers articles of the Romish religion; and Luther continued to write in defence of his doctrine. Among other compositions he published an answer to Henry's performance, in which that prince finding himself abused with great scurrility, complained to the Saxon princes of Luther's insolence, and desired they would prohibit him from publishing a translation of the Bible in the High Dutch language: but his remonstrance produced very little effect.

A. C. 1524.

The war in Italy continued with various success; the new pope refused to renew the league in which his predecessor had been engaged; but promised to observe an exact neutrality. The duke of Bourbon being reinforced by six thousand Landsquenets, and a body of Venetians, reduced the castle of Cremona, and obliged Bonnavet to repass the Alps, when all the places possessed by the French in the Milanese surrendered to the Imperialists. Then the duke, by the direction of the emperor, and the king of England, entered Provence, where he made himself master of Aix, and some other places, and undertook the siege of Marseilles; which, however, he was fain to raise at the approach of Francis, with an army of forty thousand men. The duke of Bourbon being obliged to retreat into Italy, Francis resolved to march forthwith into the Milanese by a shorter rout; and the constable being apprised

State of the
War in Italy.

apprised of his design, redoubled his diligence, in order to frustrate his intention. Both armies reached the dutchy on the same day; then the duke, being joined by the viceroy of Naples at Pavia, threw strong garrisons into that city and Alexandria; and as the plague raged at Milan, retired to Soncino. Francis now took possession of Milan without opposition, and undertook the siege of Pavia in the beginning of November. By this time he had detached the Venetians and Florentines from the interest of Charles: and now he engaged in a secret treaty with the pope, who obliged himself to grant a free passage to his troops, destined for the conquest of Naples. He accordingly in the spring sent thither a detachment of five or six thousand men, under the command of the duke of Albany, who had then quitted Scotland; and though the pope feigned to oppose them at first, he admitted them into the heart of his dominions, and then published his accommodation with the French king as the effect of compulsion. The emperor, notwithstanding his natural phlegm, was incensed at the defection of his holiness, and even threatened revenge; though Clement's league with Francis, in a great measure, contributed to the success of the imperial arms, as it induced Francis to divide his forces and weaken his army.

Guicciardini,

Mean while the court of England seemed to adopt new maxims. Henry made no diversion in Picardy; he discontinued the payment of the subsidy he had granted to the duke of Bourbon; and even demanded reimbursement of the money he had lent to the emperor at his departure from England. Charles was alarmed at these concurring circumstances, which seemed to indicate an alienation in Henry; and his suspicion was confirmed when he received intelligence from his ambassador in England, that a person, sent by the dutchess of

A. C. 1524.
Henry be-
gins to be
alienated
from the in-
terest of the
emperor.

Angouleme, regent of France, had long and frequent conferences with cardinal Wolsey. He no longer doubted that this vindictive prelate, whom he had twice disoblged in the affair of the papacy, would persuade the king of England to abandon his cause, and engage in a league with his enemy. He foresaw that the cardinal would be seconded in his endeavours by the pope, who now payed great respect to the court of England. He confirmed the title of Fidei Defensor, which the king had obtained from Leo; at the desire of Wolsey, he suppressed the monastery of St. Frideswide in Oxford, on which spot the cardinal intended to found a college, and endow it with the revenues of the convent. He, in the course of this same year, issued another bull, empowering the cardinal to suppress as many monasteries as he should think proper, to raise the yearly rent of three thousand ducats for the same purpose; and, in the month of December, he, with the king's consent, appointed cardinal Laurentius Campejus, bishop of Salisbury.

A. C. Pub.

A. C. 1525.

The French king still persisted in carrying on the siege of Pavia, though his operations were very much impeded by the rigour of the season; and his convoys were greatly interrupted by the imperial army, which had taken post at Cassano. At length the duke of Bourbon, who had gone to Germany for a reinforcement, arrived with eleven thousand men, an addition which rendered the Imperialists more numerous than the French; and, on the twenty-fifth day of February, he attacked the camp of Francis, who was totally routed, and taken prisoner. This unexpected event produced great alteration in the politics of the European princes. The kingdom of France was overwhelmed with consternation, and must have been totally ruined, if the emperor had followed his blow, and the king of England acted in Picardy. But Charles

Francis I. is
defeated and
taken pri-
soner by the
Imperialists
at the battle
of Pavia.

was now become so formidable, that the other princes began to deliberate upon the formation of a league to counterpoise his greatness. The Venetians, in particular, no sooner were informed of the battle of Pavia, than they proposed such an alliance to the pope. But he preferred his own interest to the public cause, and concluded a separate treaty with the viceroy of Naples, who acted in the name of the emperor. Mean while Charles affected to receive the tidings of his victory with great moderation; and even pretended to sympathize with the misfortunes of Francis, who was conveyed to Spain, and committed close prisoner to the castle of Madrid, not but that he had already proposed conditions of peace to Francis, which that monarch rejected as oppressive and dishonourable. His sister, the dutchess of Alençon, arrived at the place of his confinement, with full powers from her mother the regent, to negotiate a peace; but the emperor insisted upon such terms as were judged unreasonable, and the captive king delivered to his sister a writing signed with his own hand, by which he ordered the states of France to crown his son the dauphin. The parliament of Paris, however, did not think this mandate, which was called the edict of Madrid, a sufficient authority to contravene the laws of the realm, in an affair of such importance. Charles, at bottom, was void of generosity, integrity, and compassion. He inherited the phlegm of Maximilian, and the fraud of Ferdinand. He amused Francis with a vague negotiation, and refused to ratify the treaty which his viceroy had concluded with the pope. Though he re-admitted Sforza into the possession of Milan, according to his stipulations with the allies, he, by means of his general in Italy, seduced him into a conspiracy, which afforded a pretence for depriving him of his dominions. The Venetians, who were resolved to

A. C. 1525.

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A. C. 1525. hazard every thing rather than this dutchy should remain in the emperor's hands, told his ambassador, who pressed them to re-unite with his master, that the re-establishment of Sforza was a previous step, without which they would never enter into his measures. The pope did not act with the same spirit and fortitude; for, while he seemed to listen with pleasure to the proposals of Venice, touching a general league against the house of Austria, he maintained a legate in Spain, to treat of a separate alliance. As this however was protracted until he began to despair of its being brought to perfection, he fixed a day for signing the league with France and the Venetians; but, in this interval, he received intelligence of the treaty's being concluded at Madrid, and then retracted his promise to those two powers. When the treaty arrived, he found it couched in terms so dark and imbiguous, that he began to perceive he had been duped, and refused to ratify such an equivocal engagement. The Spanish ambassador affirmed, that those ambiguities were undesigned; and, in order to gain time, desired he would draw up another according to his own judgment, engaging that in two months it should be signed by the emperor.

Guicciardini.

The friendship between Charles and the king of England seemed to be on the wane even before the battle of Pavia. Though the princess Mary was betrothed to the emperor, her father offered her in marriage to the king of Scotland; and, on the other hand, the emperor made no scruple to conclude his marriage with Isabella of Portugal, notwithstanding his engagement with the English princess. Nevertheless, in the month of March he had sent the lord of Bure and the president of the council of Mechlin into England, to demand that the princess and her portion should be sent to him without delay; and that Henry should, according to his en-
gage-

gement, enter Picardy with a powerful army. A. C. 1525.
 Not but that Charles had real cause to complain. The king of England had promised to furnish one hundred thousand crowns a month, towards the duke of Bourbon's expedition into France; but, after the first payment, he put a stop to this subsidy. At the same time he demanded reimbursement of the sums he had lent the emperor, when he knew that prince was in no condition to comply with his demand. Before the ambassadors of Charles received their answer at the court of London, the news of the battle of Pavia, and the captivity of Francis, arrived in England, in a letter from the gouvernante of Flanders; and though this account was by no means agreeable to Henry, he dissembled his sentiments so far as to order a solemn Te Deum to be celebrated at St. Paul's, he himself assisting in person at the ceremony. In a few days after the arrival of these tidings, he assembled his council to deliberate upon the posture of affairs in Europe; and the debates turned upon this question: Whether the king should seize this opportunity to make conquests in France, and avail himself of his right to that kingdom; or succour France, with a view to counterpoise the exorbitant power of the emperor? The inclinations of the king and cardinal, which at this time happened to coincide with the dictates of sound policy, determined the council in favour of the captive king: and now nothing was wanting but a pretext to justify a rupture with the emperor.

Henry resolves to support Francis.

Henry forthwith dispatched Cuthbert Tunstall, bishop of London, and Sir Rober Wingfield, as his ambassadors, into Spain, to represent to the emperor, that as the war had been carried on at the common expence, it was but reasonable that the king of England should reap some advantage from the victory of Pavia. He therefore desired, that

His embassy to the emperor.

in

A.C. 1525. in the treaty with the captive king, which was on the carpet, it might be stipulated, that he should be put in possession of what properly belonged to him in France. If this justice could not be obtained by fair means, he demanded, that the emperor, in pursuance of his treaty with Henry, should invade France on the side of Spain, while the English should act in Picardy; and that the war should not be discontinued until the English monarch should have received full satisfaction. He likewise observed that the contracting parties of the treaty of Windsor had mutually engaged to deliver the prisoners to him of the two whose dominions those prisoners should appear to have usurped; he, therefore, required Charles to give up the captive king to the English ambassadors, as soon as he himself should receive the princess Mary, to whom he was contracted. Henry knew that he could not fulfil his engagement with his daughter, because he had already resolved upon a marriage with Isabella of Portugal; and that he would not act so diametrically opposite to his own interest, as to give up a prisoner of such consequence: accordingly the emperor answered in vague and general terms, such as implied a refusal. Then the court of England industriously divulged the reasons of complaint which Henry pretended to have against the emperor; and the king resolved to support France in the present emergency. Not that he intended to declare war against Charles. He ordered his ambassadors in Spain to intercede in favour of the captive monarch; and, in the mean time, signified his sentiments to the regent of France, who immediately appointed Jean Joachin de Passau, lord of Vaux, and Jean Brinon, the first president of Rouen, ambassadors at the court of London, with full powers to treat of and conclude an alliance with the king of England.

Herbert,
Act. Pub.

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Henry intrusted the management of this, as of every other affair, to Wolsey; and though his friendship was of such importance to France that he might have sold it at a very high price, he would take no advantage of the distresses of its king; all he demanded was security for the sums legally due to him from that monarch. All the articles being adjusted, five separate treaties were signed at Moore, on the thirtieth day of August. The first contained a league offensive and defensive between France and England, comprehending the allies of both kings. The second related to the payment of the sums due to Henry by the king of France, as specified in several successive treaties. In lieu of these, the regent engaged, in her son's name, to pay two million of crowns of gold, at different installments; and that, in case of Henry's dying before the debt should be liquidated, the remainder should be made good to his heirs and successors: whereas, should he survive the entire payment of the sum, he should afterwards receive a pension of one hundred thousand crowns for life. In the third treaty, the regent obliged herself to pay up all the arrears of jointure due to Henry's sister Mary, queen dowager of France, and take measures for her being punctually supplied for the future. The fourth imported, that the king of Scotland should not be deemed as an ally of France, included in this agreement, provided the Scots should commit any act of hostility against England after the twenty-fifth day of December. In the fifth treaty, the court of France promised, that it would not directly nor indirectly, consent to the return of the duke of Albany to Scotland during the minority of James V. All these treaties were ratified upon oath, by the regent of France, approved by the parliaments of Paris, Thoulouse, and Bourdeaux; the noblemen and cities obliged themselves

A. C. 1525.
His treaty
with the re-
gent of
France.

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A. C. 1525. by letters patent to observe them; and Francis I. sent a ratification of them under his own hand, in a writing dated on the twenty-seventh day of December. Nor did the regent of France forget the good offices of cardinal Wolsey on this occasion. She obliged herself to pay the arrears of the pension which had been settled upon him in lieu of the administration of the bishopric of Tournay; and, for other good reasons, promised to gratify him with one hundred thousand crowns of gold.

This present helped to console him for the anxiety he had lately experienced from the king's displeasure. Money being wanted for the occasions of government, Wolsey, instead of applying to parliament, where he had already suffered a repulse, issued a decree, in the king's name, to levy through the whole kingdom, one sixth of all lay revenues, and a fourth of the clergy's effects. This was considered as such a flagrant infraction of the Magna Charta, that it excited universal clamour over the whole nation, and had well nigh produced a rebellion. The king being informed of the commotions among his people, published a proclamation, disavowing the commissions expedited in his name, declaring, that he would never exact any thing of his people by compulsion; and demanding nothing but what they should please to contribute in the way of benevolence, an expedient which had been practised in the reign of the fourth Edward. This, however, was no other than an artifice, to extort, under another name, what the subjects refused to give under that of a decree or commission; for certain sums were demanded at the king's pleasure; so that the benevolence was equivalent to a grievous taxation. The magistrates of London refused to comply with the imposition, alledging, that the expedient of benevolence had been abolished by Richard III. The cardinal replied, that Richard was a tyrant and

and usurper, whose laws ought to have no effect upon the prerogative. He tampered in secret with the mayor and aldermen; yet, before he could either cajole or intimidate them into a compliance, an insurrection happened in the neighbourhood of London; but the insurgents were soon quelled, and some of them committed to prison. The king thinking it necessary to demonstrate, that he had no intention to oppress the people, declared in council that no person should be punished for this insurrection; and the prisoners were discharged, after having appeared at the council-board, and been severely rebuked for their insolence. The cardinal affected to become bound for their future good behaviour; and endeavoured to justify his conduct, by saying, he had done nothing but by the advice of the judges. It was no sooner known, that the king did not approve of all the cardinal's proceedings, than a great number of complaints was exhibited against that prelate. Allen his chaplain, and instrument of oppression, was so vigorously prosecuted in a court of judicature, for his extortion, that the affair became the subject of general conversation; and at length reached the ears of Henry, who took some pains to inform himself of the particulars. In the course of this inquiry, he obtained a full view of the unpopular side of Wolsey's administration; and was so incensed, that he had well nigh divested that minister of his favour and employments. Ignorant as he was of the cardinal's oppressive conduct, he had imagined that the people thought themselves extremely happy under his mild government; but, now he was disabused, and gave way to the transports of his choler, which the minister could not appease without the most abject submissions. He produced his will, in which he had bequeathed all his riches to the king; and at length, found means to persuade him, that all the

A. C. 1523.

Wolsey is
danger of be-
ing dis-
graced.

Hall.
Hollingshead.

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A. C. 1525. excesses he had committed in the exercise of his authority, were owing to his desire of augmenting his majesty's inheritance. This storm was no sooner overblown, than he removed from the king's ear all those whom he suspected of disaffection to his interest; and the palace of Hampton-court being just finished at his expence, he presented it to his master, who gave him Richmond in exchange, together with the warmest assurances of uninterrupted affection. About this period the king created his natural son Henry Fitzroy, duke of Richmond and Somerset, earl of Nottingham, lieutenant-general beyond the Trent, warden of the borders, and afterwards admiral of England, though he was but six years of age. Having no legitimate son, he expressed the utmost tenderness for this child, who was the fruit of an amour with Mrs. Elizabeth Blount, a young lady of extraordinary accomplishments. In the beginning of this year, the government of Scotland, which since the departure of the duke of Albany, remained in the hands of the earl of Angus, sent the earl of Cassils with other ambassadors into England, to treat of the marriage between the young king and the princess Mary, a match with which Henry had for some time amused the Scottish administration. As divers difficulties occurred, the truce between the two nations was prolonged from January to March, that the earl might have time to return to his own country for fresh instructions; but as Henry was never in earnest upon this subject, the negotiation produced no effect.

The league of Moore inspired the regent of France with fresh courage, and in a great measure, influenced the conduct of the pope and Venetians: the emperor recalled his ambassadors from England; and in a little time concluded his marriage with Isabella of Portugal. The pope find-

ing himself still duped by Charles, gave him to understand, that no peace was to be expected without the re-establishment of Sforza in the Milanese; and indeed, he was now on the eve of a war, in which he would have been unable to cope with such a number of powerful antagonists. This consideration cost him great uneasiness and perplexity, from which however he was soon relieved by the impatience of Francis, who, growing more and more tired of confinement, gave up the great point which had hitherto retarded the pacification. This was the dutchy of Burgundy, and the supremacy of Flanders and Artois, which, by the treaty of Madrid, he ceded to the emperor, obliging himself moreover, to marry that prince's sister Eleonora: to renounce his pretensions to Naples, Milan, Genoa, Ath, Tournay, Lisle, and Hesdin: to persuade Henry D'Albret to give up the kingdom of Navarre to Charles: to re-establish the duke of Bourbon, the prince of Orange, and Anthony de Saluces, in possession of their territories: to pay two millions of crowns for his ransom, besides five hundred thousand crowns which the emperor owed to the king of England: to accommodate Charles with twelve gallies, four great ships of war, and a land-army, when he should repair to Rome, in order to receive the imperial crown, or two hundred thousand crowns in lieu of the army: and to give his two sons as hostages for the performance of these articles. He likewise promised, upon the faith and word of a king, that he would either ratify the treaty in France, or return to the place of his confinement. On these conditions he was set at liberty, and conducted to the frontiers of Spain by Lanoy, viceroy of Naples, who attended him to Bourdeaux; and pressed him to perform his promise. His first care was to ratify the treaty of Moore, concluded with the king of England; but,

A. C. 1525.

A. C. 1526.

Francis concludes a treaty with the emperor at Madrid.

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Guicciardini.

Francis is set at liberty.

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A. C. 1526. that of Madrid he renounced as the effect of compulsion. Nevertheless, he offered to pay two millions of crowns in lieu of the dutchy of Burgundy, which he said he could not alienate; and to perform every other article of the engagement. This proposal was rejected by Charles, who hoped he would one day be glad to retrieve his children, who were hostages, by a literal execution of the treaty.

Francis engages in a league with the pope and the Venetians.

Mean while, the ambassadors of the pope and the Venetians, waited upon Francis at Cognac, where the three powers concluded a league against the emperor, in which the duke of Milan was comprehended. His holiness and the republic of Venice, depending upon the assistance of France and England, sent an army into the field under the command of the duke D'Urbino, who suffered the castle of Milan to be taken by the Imperialists, miscarried in an attempt upon Genoa, and acted with great indifference in the cause of his constituents. Mean while, the duke de Sessa the Spanish ambassador at Rome, and Hugh de Moncada, who commanded the imperial troops in the kingdom of Naples, instigated the Colonnæ against the pope; and they entered the city of Rome by surprize, at the head of six thousand men. Clement was so terrified at this unexpected assault, that he took shelter in the castle of St. Angelo; and was obliged to conclude a truce for four months with the emperor, before he could be rid of such troublesome guests. He and the Venetians expected, that in consequence of the treaty of Cognac, the kings of France and England would act vigorously against Charles; but now they found themselves duped by the French king, whose sole view in concluding and publishing the treaty was to intimidate the emperor into a compliance with his proposal. Even after the pope and Venetians had declared war against Charles, he sent the archbishop of Bourdeaux to repeat

Guicciardini.

Sandoval.

repeat

repeat the offer of two millions for Burgundy; which the emperor rejected with disdain, desiring the ambassador would tell his master, he had acted basely and wickedly; and that he ought not to have forgot the last conversation that passed between them at Madrid. His affairs had lately resumed a more favourable aspect in Italy; the baron de Frondsperg had marched thither, at the head of forty thousand men raised in Germany; and Lanoy had arrived at Naples with a body of Spanish troops. Clement, and the Venetians, exhausted all their art and eloquence to engage the king of England in the league of Cognac: they tried to flatter his vanity with the title of Protector, hoping, that he would as formerly squander away his wealth for the interest of his neighbours; but, time and experience had ripened his understanding; and the treasure left by his father was already expended: he was loth to forego the tranquility which he enjoyed; and his favourite was wholly engrossed with the foundation of his college at Oxford. Nevertheless, Henry being informed of the pope's necessities, which in all probability might oblige him to make peace with the emperor, furnished him with thirty thousand ducats, which enabled him to maintain his forces under the duke D'Urbino; although, at the same time, he continued to treat of a separate peace with the viceroy of Naples. His maxim was to have always two strings to his bow; but, on this occasion he refined too much in his politics.

Who endeavoured to engage Henry in the same alliance.

Act. Pub.

The duke of Bourbon being in want of money for the subsistence of his troops, left seven thousand Germans in Milan, under the command of Antonio de Leyva, and joined Frondsperg in the Plaisantin, while the viceroy of Naples marched with his Spaniards to the frontiers of the ecclesiastical state, in order to make a diversion, and oblige the pope to recal his troops under the duke D'Urbino. Cle-

A. C. 1527.

A. C. 1527.

ment, being apprised of Bourbon's march, concluded a truce for eight months with the viceroy, obliging himself to pay a certain sum to the duke of Bourbon; and then disbanded the greatest part of his army, before he knew the sentiments of the duke himself, who was in his full march to Bologna. That prince refused to ratify the truce, because the sum stipulated was not sufficient for the payment of his forces; so that another agreement was made; and the pope dismissed all the rest of his soldiers, that he might not be incumbered with an unnecessary expence. Notwithstanding this convention, the duke of Bourbon suddenly began his march for Rome, which was immediately filled with consternation. Renzo de Ceri, in this emergency, undertook to raise an army within the city, that should defend it against all insults; and Clement trusting to his promise, took no other measures for his own personal safety. The duke of Bourbon arriving in the neighbourhood, pretended his rout was to Naples; and sent a trumpet to the pope, to demand a passage through the city. This being refused, he next morning approached by favour of a thick fog; and ordered his army to storm a breach, which the Romans had not found time to repair. In the beginning of the attack he was killed by a musket-shot; but, the prince of Orange ordering a cloak to be thrown over his body, continued the assault until the breach was forced; and the Imperialists made a lodgment in the suburbs. Then the pope retired to the castle of St. Angelo, with thirteen cardinals, some foreign ambassadors, and several persons of distinction. Mean while, the German troops sacked the city, and committed terrible outrages. The army of the allies, under the duke D'Urbino, arrived in the neighbourhood, but retired without having made the least attempt for the relief of his holiness, who finding himself

The pope is taken prisoner, and Rome sacked by the Imperialists.

Guicciardini.

in danger of being starved, capitulated with the prince of Orange; and was put into the custody of Alarcon, who had guarded Francis in his captivity. This confinement of the pope was advantageous to several princes and states of Italy. The duke of Ferrara made himself master of Modena; the Venetians seized Ravenna and Servia; Sigismund Malatesta surpris'd Rimini; and the Florentines recovered their liberty, after having expelled the pope's legate.

Had the imperial army proceeded immediately to reduce Bologna, and the towns of Romagna, the emperor would have been rendered invincible in Italy; but they were so eager after plunder, that they neglected their master's affairs, and allowed Francis to send troops over the Alps, in order to stop their progress. That monarch had at length prevailed upon the king of England, to engage with him in a league offensive and defensive against Charles. Henry had sent Sir William Fitzwilliams to France, in order to signify his assent to the proposal, and offer his daughter Mary in marriage to Francis, who joyfully embraced this overture. A negotiation was begun by the bishop of Bath and Wells, the English ambassador at Paris, assisted by Sir William Fitzwilliams; but, some difficulties occurring, Francis sent a solemn embassy to London, where his plenipotentiaries treated with the cardinal, who was appointed the king's commissioner for this purpose. Three treaties were concluded, importing, That the two kings should send ambassadors to the emperor with reasonable offers, touching the release of the hostages, and a demand of the sums he owed to the king of England; to which, should he fail in returning an acceptable answer, within twenty days, they should declare war against him without further delay: That the princess Mary should be given in marriage to Francis,

New treaty
between
France and
England.

A. C. 1527.

cis, or to his son the duke of Orleans, as he should think proper: That the war should be carried on conjunctly in the Low Countries, according to a certain stipulated proportion; and, That a fleet should be equipped at their joint expence, to distress the enemy by sea: That the king of Portugal, or any other prince, espousing the cause of Charles, should be deemed and declared an enemy: That the pope and Venetians should be comprehended in the league, on condition of their maintaining the war in Italy: That Henry should renounce, for himself and successors, all right and pretensions to the crown or territories of France; in consideration of which cession, Francis and his successors should pay to all succeeding kings of England, a perpetual pension of fifty thousand crowns, to commence at the death of Henry, who was already intituled to two millions by the treaty of Moore; and that, over and above this pension, Francis should furnish the king of England annually with salt of Broüage to the value of fifteen thousand crowns: That this treaty should be approved and signed by the archbishops, bishops, princes, dukes, counts, barons, and other noblemen of both kingdoms, whose names were specified in the article, by the parliaments of Paris, Tholouse, Rouen, and Bourdeaux, as well as by all the courts of judicature in England; and confirmed by the states of France and England, as a perpetual and inviolable constitution.

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The news of the pope's captivity arriving soon after the conclusion of these treaties, the parties agreed, that instead of carrying on the war in the Low Countries, they should act solely in Italy; and as English troops could not be transported into that country without great trouble, time, and expence, the French king took upon himself the maintenance of the war, on condition of Henry's paying a certain monthly subsidy.

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These treaties being ratified, the king of England sent Sir Francis Poyntz to Spain, to demand of Charles, that as he had been at half the expence of the war, he should have half the booty taken at Pavia, together with one of the hostages of Francis; and Clarencieux the herald, accompanied this envoy in disguise, that he might denounce war, in case of a refusal. Charles, who plainly perceived that Henry wanted nothing but a pretext for a rupture, resolved, if possible, to gain time. He answered with great gravity, that the message being of great importance, he would deliberate with himself upon the nature of it; and signify his determination by a letter to the king of England. This procrastination being deemed equivalent to a repulse, Francis ordered Lautrec to begin his march with the forces destined for Italy: and cardinal Wolsey set out for the continent, in order to confer with the French king at Amiens. He arrived at Calais on the eleventh day of July, and repaired to Abbeville, with a train of one thousand horse gaily caparisoned. He was received on the frontiers of France with the same honours that would have been payed to the king of England. Francis complimented him with letters-patent, empowering his great friend the cardinal to release the prisoners in all the places through which he passed, except such as were confined for treason, rape, and murder. While he waited at Abbeville until the king of France should come to Amiens, he received a memorial from the emperor, who now seemed desirous of a pacification. The king of France had offered to execute the treaty of Madrid, provided Francis Sforza should be re-established in possession of Milan. That Charles should receive, in lieu of Burgundy, two millions of golden crowns, send queen Eleonora with the two hostages to France, allowing that princess a dower in proportion to the great sum he

A C. 1527.

The emperor makes overtures to the king of England.

Herbert.

A. C. 1527. was to touch ; and pay what he owed to the king of England. To these propositions the emperor now replied, That his right to Burgundy should remain in full force as before the treaty of Madrid : That all the articles of that treaty should be executed, except such as he should now consent to wave : That he hoped the king of England, and the lord legate, would prevail upon the French king to augment the sum of two millions he had offered ; at least, he insisted upon its being payed, over and above what he (Charles) owed to the king of England, a debt which Francis had bound himself to discharge ; and besides the restitution of the effects belonging to the late duke of Bourbon, as it was but reasonable that his heirs should receive the benefit of this treaty : That the queen his sister should be sent to France with the hostages, as soon as the other articles could be executed : That Francis Sforza being accused of treason, the emperor would appoint competent judges to try that nobleman ; and, in case of his being found innocent, he should be re-established in his dutchy ; but, if convicted, the state of Milan should remain at the disposal of the emperor, according to justice and reason : and lastly, That the king of England should become a guarantee of the treaty. He moreover demanded, That Francis would indemnify him for the expences to which he had been exposed from the league that monarch had formed against him, leaving the estimation of that expence to the king of England, who was perfectly well acquainted with the nature of all their transactions. He said, he still considered the legate as his friend ; he declared himself so well disposed towards a pacification, that if the king of England should think his proposals unreasonable, he would make greater concessions for him than for any prince in Europe ; and as a mark of his singular esteem for that monarch, desired that all the world would ascribe to him

Sandoval.
Herbert.

him the glory of having effected the accommodation. A. C. 1527.

These advances were rejected by the kings of France and England, who were now bent upon the prosecution of the war; and the cardinal meeting Francis at Amiens, three new treaties were concluded to the following effect: That the duke of Orleans should espouse the princess Mary; and the treaty of Moore remain in full force: That the king of England should form no claim upon Francis for the money he should expend in the war of Italy; but pay a certain contribution and proportion to the number of troops which the French king should maintain in that country. The second treaty related to trade, and specified certain privileges, which Francis granted to the English merchants. In the third, the two kings agreed that they would never consent to the convocation of a general council, during the pope's captivity: that they would receive no bull, brief, or mandate, from his holiness, until he should be set at liberty; but, in the mean time, punctually execute every thing that should be determined in England by the cardinal legate, with the concurrence of the clergy; and, in France, by the principal members of the Gallican church. These conventions being ratified, the contracting parties thought proper to make some answer to the propositions of the emperor. Francis still insisted upon the re-establishment of Sforza, and the release of the hostages: while Henry in a formal manner, demanded payment of the sums which Charles had borrowed of himself and his father; together with five hundred thousand crowns, which he had engaged to forfeit, in case he should not espouse the princess Mary: he likewise insisted upon being indemnified by Charles for the arrears of the pension due to him from France, according to a stipulation in the treaty of Windsor; and lastly, he required

Henry
makes fresh
demands
upon the
emperor.

A. C. 1527.

quired him not only to release his holiness, but also to make good the damage he had sustained from the imperial forces. To these demands the emperor answered, That he had never denied the debt he owed to the king of England: that he would inform that monarch, by letter, of his reasons for thinking himself acquitted of the penalty upon the contract of marriage; and that he had already sent orders to Italy to set the pope at liberty.

This was not the first time that Henry had interposed in behalf of Clement; who, together with his thirteen fellow-prisoners, had, in letters, solicited the king's protection. Henry had written in their behalf to Charles, who answered in general terms, That he would do all that lay in his power for the satisfaction of the king of England: but, he had, by this time, resolved to convey Clement to Spain, where he thought he could manage him more for his advantage, than while he remained in Italy; and, in the mean time, he carried his deceit to such a ridiculous length, as to order public prayers to be put up for the deliverance of his holiness. At the same time he endeavoured to excite jealousy and distrust between the kings of France and England. He proposed to the cardinal a match between Henry's natural son, the duke of Richmond, and Isabella, princess of Portugal, to whom he offered to give the dutchy of Milan as a dower; and the king affected to be pleased with the proposal, for his own convenience. But it was not in the power of the emperor to shake the good understanding between him and Francis; who, about this time, sent Anne de Montmorency, with the order of St. Michael, to his new ally; and Henry, in return, complimented him with the garter, by the hands of Arthur viscount de Lisle, natural son of the fourth Edward. Charles likewise attempted to gain over the cardinal by advantage-

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ous offers : but Wolsey was too far engaged with Francis to retreat ; or he was determined at all events to be revenged on the emperor, by whom he had been twice deceived ; and perhaps the king's divorce from Catherine was already resolved upon, in which case he could not possibly espouse the interest of Charles. Certain it is, the cardinal, in a letter to the king, dated on the thirty-first day of August, told him it was already reported in Spain, that his majesty intended to obtain a divorce, and counselled him to send orders to his ambassadors in that country, to stifle the rumour as soon as possible, by alledging it had no other foundation than some scruples expressed by the bishop of Tarbe, on the subject of the projected match between the duke of Orleans and the princess Mary, as if there had been some room to doubt her legitimacy.

A. C. 1527.

Charles
tampers
with cardi-
nal Wolsey.

Herbert.

We have already said that the imperial army loitered away their time in Rome, and that neighbourhood, where they were greatly diminished by excesses and the plague ; and, with great difficulty, governed by the prince of Orange, whom they had chosen general, at the death of the duke of Bourbon : we have also observed that Francis had sent Lautrec into Italy, to command the forces of a league, in which he had engaged with the Venetians. Andrea Doria, who commanded the French gallies, reduced Genoa under the dominion of Francis, in the beginning of the campaign ; and Lautrec, being joined by the marquis de Saluces, made himself master of Vigevano, Alexandria, and Pavia. Then he began his march for Naples, was admitted into Parma and Placentia ; the duke of Ferrara declared for France, and his example was soon followed by the duke of Mantua. The emperor had sent an order to the viceroy of Naples to release the pope, on condition that he should give security for paying the arrears of the army, and detaching

Affairs of
Italy.Guicciar-
dini.

A. C. 1527. taching himself from the league; but, as he had no such security to grant, the negotiation proceeded very slowly. However, the French general advancing towards Naples, Moncada, who acted for the emperor, at length concluded the treaty, importing, that the pope should not act against the emperor in the affairs of Milan and Naples; but grant him a crusade in Spain, and a tenth in his other dominions; and consent to his keeping Civita-Vecchia, Ostia, Cita, Castellana, and the castle of Furlì: That his holiness should pay in ready money sixty-seven thousand crowns to the German, and half that sum to the Spanish troops; and in a certain time make up the rest of what was due to the emperor, amounting to three hundred and fifty thousand crowns; that, in the mean time he should be conducted to a place of safety without the walls of Rome, and give hostages for the performance of articles. The treaty being signed, and the cardinals Cesi and Orsino delivered by way of sureties, the pope was brought from the castle of St. Angelo, in order to be conducted to another place; but, as he was afraid of being detained for a considerable length of time, because he knew it was not in his power to execute the articles, he escaped in disguise to Orvietto, and renounced the treaty as the effect of compulsion.

Guicciardini.

Henry is troubled with scruples of conscience.

It was during the pope's confinement, that king Henry first declared his intention of being divorced from his wife Catherine, though, in all probability, the resolution was taken before this period; inasmuch as we find, by the cardinal's letter to the king, that the report was current in Spain, while he continued at Abbeville. Some historians, in order to blacken the character of Henry, and tarnish the merit of the reformation in England, have represented the king's pretended scruples as the effect of his passion for Anne Boleyn, daughter of

Sir

Sir Thomas Boleyn, a young lady who had been educated in France; and was at this juncture a maid of honour to queen Catherine. They likewise have, with great virulence, endeavoured to depreciate her person and her morals; and, in the course of their contumely, fallen into divers inconsistencies, which have been detected and exposed by authors of more credit and veracity. These have not only refuted her calumniators, but also proved that Henry was determined upon the divorce before Anne Boleyn returned to England. The king had an ingredient of superstition in his character, and could not help imputing the death of his two sons to the displeasure of God Almighty, at his incestuous marriage with his brother's widow. He was extremely desirous of male issue, that all disputes about the succession might be prevented. He was startled at the observation of the bishop of Tarbe, who expressed some doubts about his daughter's legitimacy: he was tired of possessing Catherine, who was not mistress of many personal attractions; he was a prince of impetuous passions, and longed to be united with a lady of more endearing qualifications, by whom he might be blessed with male issue, against whose legitimacy no plausible exceptions could be taken. His scruples of conscience, first raised by the writings of Thomas Aquinas, were encouraged by Wolfey, who hated the queen, because she had expressed her disapprobation of his loose and libertine way of living; and he was actuated by revenge against her nephew the emperor, who had twice baffled him in his designs upon the papacy. Henry thought he could never find a more favourable conjuncture to sue for a divorce than the present; when the emperor's power was become formidable to all the princes in Christendom, and the pope's deliverance depended in a peculiar manner upon the assistance and interposition

Burnet,
Herbert.

A. C. 1527. tion of England and her allies: perhaps too his conduct was influenced by the beauty of Anne Boleyn, who now began to be distinguished above all her cotemporaries.

He solli-
cites a di-
vorce from
his wife Ca-
therine.

Be that as it may, he himself professed scruples of conscience, and desired, that archbishop Warham, who had at first declared against the marriage, should consult the bishops of England upon the subject. The prelate complied with his request; and presented him with a writing, in which they condemned the marriage as a contract contrary to public decency, and the divine law. This declaration was subscribed by all the prelates, except Fisher bishop of Rochester, whose name is said to have been counterfeited by cardinal Wolsey. The writings of Luther had by this time produced such a spirit of inquiry in England, that the people openly affirmed, the dispensation for the marriage granted by pope Julius II. could never justify, or consolidate a marriage so notoriously opposite to the law of God. This would have been a very sufficient reason for dissolving the match in the eye of equity; but, it would have been a very imprudent step in Henry, to solicit a favour of the court of Rome, by seeking to invalidate the authority of a Roman pontiff: he therefore endeavoured to find nullities in the bull of Julius, by which it would be rendered revocable by the maxims of the holy see. The bull been had founded on the request of Henry and Catherine, on the supposition, that their marriage was necessary to preserve peace between Spain and England. Now Henry, being then but twelve years of age, could not be supposed to have such politic views; whence it was inferred, that he was not really author of the request. Besides, the situation of affairs at that time was such, as proved the marriage was unnecessary for the preservation of the peace between
England

England and Spain; consequently, pope Julius ^{A. C. 1527} had been deceived: and lastly, it was solicited as the means of maintaining a good understanding between Ferdinand and Isabella, and Henry VII. whereas, at the consummation, Isabella and Henry VII. were not alive. It was moreover, alledged, that Henry VIII. in having protested against his marriage before it was consummated, gave up the liberty granted to him by the bull; and therefore another was necessary to render his marriage valid. The king having found these subterfuges to serve as a pretext for Clement to revoke the dispensation of his predecessor, sent Knight his secretary to Rome, with four papers to be signed by his holiness. The first was a commission to cardinal Wolsey, to judge and determine the affair, in conjunction with some English bishops. The second was a decretal bull, annulling the marriage between the king and Catherine, as the nuptials of that princess with his brother Arthur had been previously consummated. The third contained a dispensation for Henry's marrying another wife. And in the fourth, the pope engaged never to revoke the other three. Knight, at his arrival in Rome, being denied admittance to the pope, who was strictly guarded by a Spanish captain, found means to convey a memorial, containing the heads of his commission, to his holiness, who returned a favourable answer, though the emperor had already desired he would take no step in that affair without first imparting it to his ministers. Cardinal Wolsey, in a letter to Gregorio Casali, the English ambassador at Rome, ordered him to second the endeavours of Knight; and they waited on Clement after his retreat to Orvietto. He promised to exert himself for the satisfaction of the king; but, begged the affair might not be precipitated. He was at ^{Is amused} this juncture uncertain, whether he should have oc- ^{by the pope,} casion

A. C. 1527.
Guicciar-
dini.

casion for the assistance of Henry, or be able to effect an accommodation with the emperor. He therefore wanted time; but was so hard pressed by the English envoy, to declare himself, that he promised to sign the acts, on condition that they should not be produced until after the departure of the French and Germans from Italy. Tho' this condition was accepted, he still protracted the affair, on pretence of consulting Lorenzo Pucci, cardinal Sanctorum Quatuor, who being secured by a largess of English gold, altered the legate's commission, which had been defective; and joined Knight and Casali, in pressing Clement to sign it without further delay. Thus importuned, he put his hand to the commission, and the bull of dispensation for the king, promising to send the other decretal bull for dissolving the marriage, to England, after he should have considered the subject more maturely. But he dated those two acts at the time when he was prisoner in the castle of St. Angelo; so that Henry did not choose to make use of them, lest it should be objected, that the pope had granted them merely with a view to obtain his liberty by the assistance of England. Clement had by this time smarted so severely by his opposition to the emperor, that he absolutely refused to re-engage in the league with France, England, and Venice. When pressed on this subject by the ambassadors of those powers, he observed, that his junction with the league might expose him to new misfortunes, without procuring any real advantage to their cause; and that he was resolved to act as a mediator, rather than involve himself as a party. He had by this time formed the design of re-establishing the family of Medicis in Florence; and foresaw that such a re-establishment could not be effected but by means of the emperor, because the Florentines had joined the allies; but, he would

Burnet.
Herbert,

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not declare for Charles until he should see the success of the war between him and the confederates. Every thing now seemed to portend the effusion of blood, ruin, and desolation.

The ambassadors of France and England, residing in Spain, desired permission to retire; and next day Clarencieux and Guienne, the heralds of Henry and Francis, pronounced a declaration of war, in presence of the emperor, sitting on his throne, and surrounded by his grandees. In answer to Clarencieux, Charles complained, that the king of England wanted to join him in marriage with a princess whom he intended to bastardize, by obtaining a divorce from her mother: but he laid the whole blame on the excessive ambition of cardinal Wolsey, who was disgusted at the emperor, because he would not embroil Christendom by endeavouring to raise him to the papacy. He denied that he had ever refused to pay the debt he owed to Henry; but said, the English ambassadors who demanded the money, had no power to grant a discharge. With respect to the indemnity, he observed, that the king of France had taken it upon himself in the treaty of Madrid. With regard to the sum of five hundred thousand crowns, which he had obliged himself to pay, in case he should refuse to wed the princess Mary, he declared, that he had demanded her by ambassadors; and that her father had not only refused to send her into Spain; but had even offered her in marriage to the king of Scotland: besides, Henry could not legally demand the sum, until after having proved, that he had executed all the articles of the treaty of Windsor.

The French and English heralds declare war against the emperor;

In his answer to the French herald, he loudly taxed Francis with breach of promise, and desired Guienne to remind his master of what he had proposed by the archbishop of Bourdeaux, namely,

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that

A. C. 1528. who challenges Francis to decide the contest in single combat.

that they should decide their quarrel in single combat. The French king no sooner received this message than he sent back the same herald to the emperor, with a formal defiance, in which he gave Charles the lie; and demanded of him security of the field in which they should fight body to body. The emperor accepted the challenge, and dispatched one of his heralds with another remonstrance on the subject. He found great difficulty in being admitted to the king's presence; and when he began to speak, was interrupted by Francis, who being afraid of hearing some disagreeable repartee, asked, if he had brought security for the field, as every thing else was superfluous? He was answered in the affirmative; and desired permission to read the emperor's cartel. This, however, he could not obtain. Francis rose hastily, after having uttered some angry expressions; and ordered the herald to quit his dominions. In this whole affair he acted a part unbecoming a man of honour: first, in renouncing the treaty to which he owed his deliverance: secondly, in trespassing the bounds of decorum, by sending such a scurrilous message to Charles: and, thirdly, in his behaviour to the herald, which denoted equal insolence and trepidation. On the other hand, it must be allowed, that Charles demeaned himself like a prince of gallantry and courage.

Sandoval.
Herbert.

Hugh de Mendoza the Spanish ambassador at London, being informed of these transactions, would have retired immediately; but, Wolsey assuring him that the herald had exceeded his orders, and would be severely punished at his return, he sent a courier to inform the emperor of this declaration. Clarencieux, who was still in Spain, being apprized of this circumstance, demanded, and obtained an authentic copy of the ambassador's letter; and arriving privately in England went directly

rectly to the king, to whom he produced this testimony, together with three other letters, written in his own hand, by which Clarencieux had been peremptorily ordered to denounce war against the emperor. Henry was so exasperated at this information, that in the transport of his anger, he chid the cardinal for his presumption in the most acrimonious expressions; and, in all probability, would have disgraced him intirely, had not he foreseen, that he should have occasion for his ministry in the affair of the divorce. The matter, however, was examined in council; and, though Wolsey pleaded, that he imagined what he had done was conformable to the king's intentions, he received a severe and mortifying rebuke. The report which Clarencieux made of the honourable treatment he had met with at the court of the emperor, made an impression upon Henry. He seemed loth to break with a prince who treated him with such personal respect; and the trade between England and the Low Countries being of great consequence to the nation, some overtures were made for keeping it still open. Mean while the merchants, in consequence of the declaration of war, refused to buy the cloth that was brought to market at Blackwell-Hall; and the manufacturers mutinied in divers parts of England. The same commotions happening in Flanders, Margaret governante of the Low Countries, with the advice of the emperor's council, sent over two ambassadors to solicit a truce, which they obtained for eight months, notwithstanding the remonstrances of the French ambassador, and the insinuations of the cardinal, whose credit about this time began to decline.

Wolsey's
interest be-
gins to
totter.

Hall.
Astr. Pub.

During these transactions, the imperial army at Rome being reduced to a wretched condition by the plague, the prince of Orange, with the remains of it, retreated towards Naples, before the arms

A. C. 1528. of Lautrec, who, being reinforced to the number of thirty thousand men, undertook the siege of that capital, while it was blocked up by sea with the gallies of France, Venice, and Genoa. These engaged and worsted the Imperialists; and Lautrec resolved to reduce the city by famine: but Andrea Doria being disgusted with the French king, withdrew his gallies, and declared for the emperor; so that the French army suffered as much as the besieged, from a scarcity of provision. At length, it was infected by the plague, which destroyed the greater part of the officers and soldiers; and carried off the general, who was succeeded in command by the marquis de Saluces. This nobleman immediately abandoned the enterprize, and retreated to Aversa, where he was besieged in his turn by the Imperialists; and obliged to surrender at discretion. At the same time, Francis lost his footing in Genoa, the liberty of which Doria restored, establishing that form of government which the inhabitants still retain.

The French
are driven
from Italy
by the Im-
perialists.

The success of the Imperialists in Italy raised fresh obstacles to Henry's divorce from Catherine. The pope, when solicited to issue new bulls on that subject, that should be more explicit than those he had signed at Orvietto, advised the king of England privately, to make use of the commission which he had already granted to the legate for annulling the marriage, and espouse another wife, according to his own inclination, in which case he would confirm the marriage: alledging, that it would be easier for him to grant a confirmation of what was already done, than a dispensation to do that which was undone. Henry looked upon this advice as a subterfuge for some sinister purpose. He foresaw, that if he should take another wife in this manner, he would be altogether in the power of his holiness, who might confirm or annul the

the marriage at pleasure ; and therefore he resolved to persist in demanding new bulls for terminating the affair of the divorce. Wolsey's secretary, Stephen Gardiner, and Edward Fox, were sent to Rome to demand a new commission, empowering the cardinal to dissolve the marriage, and yet declare the daughter born of that marriage legitimate, as well as a decretal bull to dissolve the king's marriage ; and a dispensation for his wedding another wife, without any restriction. At the same time, the envoys were ordered to make the pope acquainted with the extraordinary merit of Anne Boleyn, on whom the king had by this time settled his affection ; and to tell his holiness, that the cardinal had no share in advising the divorce. Gardiner and Fox arriving at Orvietto, when Lautrec was on his march towards Naples, the pope wanted to protract the discussion of this affair until he should see the success of the campaign ; and for this purpose, endeavoured to amuse Henry with a letter written in cypher, which nobody could explain. This expedient was very ill received by the king, who sent orders to his envoys to insist upon the former demands ; and as by this time the French general had made conquests in the kingdom of Naples, Clement, afraid of disobliging Henry, who was so closely connected with Francis, signed a bull, constituting cardinal Wolsey judge of the affair, in conjunction with the archbishop of Canterbury, or any other English prelate. The king's council considered this commission as defective, because it contained no clause to prevent the pope from reversing the decree ; and implied a manifest nullity, in appointing as sole judge of the affair a cardinal devoted to the king, and actually his prime minister. Henry therefore demanded, that another legate should be joined to Wolsey ; and that the pope should, by a former engagement, renounce all

A. C. 1528.

Wolsey and Campejus appointed to determine the affairs of the king's divorce.

power of revoking the commission. As Lautrec had now undertaken the siege of Naples, Clement made no scruple to comply with these demands. He appointed Wolsey and Campejus his legates a latere, establishing them as his vicegerents in the affair of the divorce; and for that purpose vesting them with his whole authority. He likewise granted the formal engagement touching the revocation; and furnished Campejus with a decretal, annulling the king's marriage. These concessions were made at different periods, in order to protract the time; and before the decretal passed, Clement, in all probability, had resolved to thwart Henry in the affair of his divorce; for, by this time, Lautrec was dead, and the French army ruined: so that the pope had nothing to fear from the confederates. He had resolved to accommodate all differences with the emperor, whom he therefore would not disoblige by being accessory to the disgrace of his kinswoman Catherine: but, on the other hand, until this accommodation could be effected, he was averse to a rupture with Henry, lest he should be left to the mercy of the emperor; and obliged to embrace such terms as he should think proper to impose. His aim then was to temporize and spin out the affair of the divorce, until he should have compromised all his disputes with Charles, from whom he had reason to expect favourable terms, while he maintained a seeming connexion with France and England. He directed his legate Campejus to protract the affair as long as possible: to forbear giving sentence of divorce, until he should receive new orders under the hand of his holiness; and to avoid communicating the bull to any person whatsoever, except the king and the cardinal.

Arrival of Campejus to gain time.

Campejus arriving in England began his legation, by exhorting the king to live in good understanding with Catherine; and desist from his sol-

itation of the divorce. This advice being very ^{A C} 1528. ill received, he endeavoured to persuade the queen to consent to the separation; but his counsel was rejected by Catherine, who told him she was the king's lawful wife, and so would continue, until she should be declared otherwise by the pope's sentence. Then the legate declared, he could proceed no farther without new orders; and six months elapsed before these could be obtained. In the mean time, he flattered the king with the hope of seeing his desire accomplished, and amused him and Wolsey with the sight of the bull; but when he was pressed to produce it before some lords of the council, he pleaded the pope's order to the contrary. Henry, incensed at this method of proceeding, complained to Clement, who justified the conduct of the legate; and gave the court to understand, that the bull should not be published, except the sentence of the legates should be favourable to his majesty.

Herbert.
Burnet.

While the pope thus trifled with Henry, his negotiation with the emperor was still continued; and now he sought a pretence for breaking with the kings of France and England, who were no longer formidable in Italy. They had promised to procure for him the restitution of Ravenna and Cervia, and now he loudly complained, that they had not performed their engagements. At length, they received intimation of his treating with the emperor; and upbraided him in their turn with double dealing. He still denied he had any intention to depart from his neutrality; and sent Francisco Campana to England, with assurances of his good intention. This envoy carried an order to Campejus, to burn the decretal bull, and protract the divorce to the utmost of his power. He accordingly found new pretences for delaying the proceedings, until at length Henry, impatient of such procrastination,

Henry sends
fresh envoys
to the pope.

A. C. 1528. sent Sir Francis Bryan, and Peter Vannes to Rome, to dive into the real cause of this delay. They were directed to search the pope's chancery for a pretended brief, which as the Spaniards gave out, confirmed the dispensation for Catherine's marriage, granted by pope Julius; to propose divers expedients for facilitating the determination of the divorce; to offer a guard of two thousand men to the pope, in case he should be intimidated by the threats of the emperor; or should this proposal be rejected, to counterbalance the threats of Charles with menaces from Henry. The two envoys executed the first part of their commission: and finding the pope inclining to the interest of the emperor, told him plainly, that should he refuse granting the satisfaction their master demanded, England would certainly renounce him and all the popes his successors. They observed, that the English people wanted nothing but their king's permission to shake off all obedience to the papal power; that he was on the brink of raising two formidable enemies to himself, in the persons of Francis and Henry; and that as the king of England had engaged in the war merely with a view to deliver his holiness from imprisonment, all Christendom would look with horror upon his ingratitude, should he engage in a league against his deliverer. These remonstrances produced no effect upon the pope, who answered in general terms; and pretended to think himself in a very dangerous situation, from which he could be relieved by nothing but the signal interposition of heaven. The questions proposed by the envoys to able canonists, were these, Whether, if the queen should take the veil, the king might be at liberty to take another wife? Whether, if the king and queen should take the vows together, the pope would grant him a dispensation to marry again during the life of Catherine?

and,

and, Whether the pope could grant him permission to have two wives. The answers to these questions never transpired. But, the pope's chancery being searched, no brief appeared; and the English envoys obtained authentic certificates of this particular.

A. C. 1528.

Ld. Herbert,
Burnet.
Act. Pub.

Although the pope had laid down a resolution to thwart the king, he still continued to heap favours on his minister. He obtained several bulls for suppressing divers small monasteries, and many other grants towards the establishment of his two colleges at Oxford and Ipswich, which he had very much at heart; and indeed, he could not be too alert in seizing the present opportunity, which, if he had neglected, the work in all probability would have remained imperfect. With respect to Scotland, Henry in the course of this year sent ambassadors to the court of his nephew James, with proposals of peace; but, as this could not be effected, on account of the distractions of that kingdom, which was divided into two factions, headed by the queen-dowager, and the family of Douglas, a truce was concluded at Berwick, for five years. In a separate article it was stipulated, that the earl of Angus, his brother George, and uncle Archibald, might be received and protected in England, on condition that they should deliver up to their sovereign the places they held in Scotland; and that, in case they should make inroads into their own country, the king of England should repair the damage, as if it had been done by his own subjects.

Affairs of
Scotland.

The pope, on pretence of acting as mediator for a general peace, had sent a nuncio to Spain, to conclude a separate treaty with the emperor; and while this was on the carpet, the affair of the divorce hung in suspense. In the beginning of the year, Clement had been seized with a dangerous malady,
of

A. C. 1529.

A. C. 1529. of which cardinal Wolsey was no sooner apprised, than he began to cabal for the papacy. Henry had written to several cardinals in his favour; and Francis assured him, that he should be supported by all those of the French faction. Gardiner was ordered to employ all his vigilance and attention, in keeping them steady to their engagements; and in case another pope should be chosen in spite of Wolsey's interest, they were directed to protest against whatever should be done in the conclave, and elect the English cardinal in some other place. All these intrigues, however, were baffled by the recovery of Clement, who being informed of the steps which had been taken, looked upon the cardinal as a dangerous competitor, who might one day supplant him on pretence of his bastardy, for which he had been already reproached, and threatened with deposition by the emperor. In the mean time, he continued to amuse the king of England with promises, that the affair of the divorce should be determined according to his wish; and delivered into Gardiner's hands a brief, in which he declared he would not revoke the power he had granted to the legates. In token of his respect for Henry, when that prince, on the death of Richard Fox, desired he would confer the bishopric of Winchester upon Wolsey, he immediately ordered the bulls to be expedited for that purpose, though he taxed them at fifteen thousand ducats; the cardinal, however, would not pay above six thousand, owning that he was indifferent about the see, as he already enjoyed the temporalities by the king's favour.

Bishopric of
Winchester
conferred on
Wolsey.

The emperor protests
against the
divorce.

The emperor being well assured of the pope's sentiments touching the divorce, entered in the name of his aunt queen Catherine a formal protest against all that should be done in England on that subject by the legates, one of whom he alledged was entirely devoted to Henry, and the other bi-
sho'

shop of Salisbury in his dominions. The English ministers endeavoured to persuade the pope, that this protest ought to be rejected. But he told them, he could not refuse to a queen what the most inconsiderable subject had a right to demand, observing, that a protest did not at all detract from the merits of any cause. From this and other concurring circumstances they concluded, that his sole aim was to dupe their master, to whom they imparted their sentiments, hinting, that unless the affair could be speedily decided, the pope would in all probability evoke the cause to Rome. Henry, alarmed at this intelligence, resolved to sue the divorce before the legates without further delay; but, upon perusing the brief, in which Clement had engaged that the power of the legates should not be revoked, it was found conceived in such ambiguous terms as left no room to doubt the pope's insincerity. That the king might be more fully convinced, however, Gardiner was directed to tell him, that the brief had been wetted in its carriage to England, so as that the writing was almost effaced; for which reason he was desired to sign another, which would have been more explicit: but Clement found means to elude all his solicitations, and secretly rejoiced at the supposed accident.

Henry having nothing further to hope from the court of Rome, recalled his ambassadors, and in their room sent thither Bennet, who carried a letter to his holiness from the two legates, who observed that the chief point of the cause was to decide upon the authority vested in the head of the church; and as this was an object far above their power and capacity, they advised his holiness to evoke the cause before his own tribunal, not doubting but the king would consent to this evocation, provided that he might be previously assured that the cause would be decided in his favour. How Wolsey was induced

Herbert,
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A. C. Pub.

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The legates
proceed on
their com-
mission.

to give an advice so contrary to the interest and inclinations of his master, is not easy to determine. Mean while Henry pressed the legates to proceed on their commission; and they met on the thirty-first day of May, when they nominated adjuncts to assist them in examining the evidences. Wolfey, in order to shew his impartiality, yielded the chair of presidency to Campejus, though he was an older cardinal to that legate, who summoned the king and queen to appear in court on the eighteenth day of June. When that day arrived, the queen's agents excepted to the authority of the legates; but their exceptions were over-ruled, and the king and queen personally appeared on the twenty-first day of the month. Henry, when called upon, answered, Here; but, the queen being cited, arose and falling on her knees before Henry, "I am (said she) a poor woman, and stranger in your dominions, where I can neither expect disinterested counsel, nor impartial judges. I have been your wife twenty years and upwards, have bore you several children, and ever studied to please you. I protest you found me a true maid, concerning which I appeal to your own conscience. If I have done amiss, let me be put away with shame. Our parents were esteemed wise princes, and no doubt had good counselors, when they agreed upon our marriage. I therefore will not submit to the court. My lawyers are your subjects, and dare not speak freely in my behalf; for which reason, I desire to be excused until I shall hear from Spain." So saying, she rose, and making a low reverence to the king, retired from court, paying no regard to the crier, who required her to stay. After her departure Henry declared, that she had been always a true and obedient wife, and was possessed of many excellent qualities; but, that his conscience
being

being disquieted by a remark which had been made A. C. 1529. by the bishop of Tarbe the French ambassador, he had resolved to try the lawfulness of his marriage, for the ease of his mind and the benefit of the succession. He said he had mentioned this scruple in confession to the bishop of Lincoln; and desired the archbishop of Canterbury to procure the opinions of all the prelates, who had under their hands and seals disapproved of the marriage. The bishop of Rochester declaring, that he had not set his hand to this writing, the metropolitan of Canterbury said, he had consented to let another write his name; but this circumstance he of Rochester positively denied. The queen being again cited to appear, appealed to the pope, and was declared contumacious. Then the legates drew up twelve articles to be discussed by the examination of evidence. They declared, that prince Arthur and the king were brothers: that prince Arthur had married Catherine, and consummated the marriage; that upon the death of Arthur, Henry, by virtue of a dispensation, had married the widow: that this marriage with his brother's wife was forbidden both by human and divine law: and that upon the complaints which the pope had received, his holiness had sent them to try and decide in the affair. The king's council insisted chiefly on the consummation of Arthur's marriage; and in the course of their pleadings spoke so indecently, that the bishop of Rochester signified his disapprobation and disgust. He was checked by Wolsey for presuming to interpose; and some severe altercation passed between these prelates. The evidence, however, produced many strong presumptions, that Arthur had carnally known the queen, though she herself declared, and even swore the contrary.

While the legates proceeded very slowly in this process, the emperor's ministers pressed the pope to The cause is evoked to Rome. evoke

A. C. 1529. evoke the cause to Rome; and the English envoys exerted all their influence to prevent this evocation. Both sides threatened to depose him on account of his bastardy; and he pretended to be intimidated by their menaces, which however furnished him with a reason for postponing his declaration, until he had concluded his treaty with the emperor. Then he plainly told the English agents, that he had resolved to evoke the cause of the divorce to Rome; and though they assured him that such a step would certainly dismember the holy see of the spiritual dominion of England, he refused to retract his resolution. The emperor had engaged by treaty to re-establish the house of Medicis in the sovereignty of Florence; and this circumstance alone over-balanced every other consideration in the mind of Clement. On the fifteenth day of July he signed the bull of evocation, which he forthwith dispatched by a courier to England, where the process of divorce had been strangely protracted by the artifice of Campejus, who found means to adjourn the session from time to time, under various pretences. How incensed soever the king must have been at the arrival of this bull of evocation, in which he was cited to appear at Rome in forty days, on pain of ecclesiastical censure, he dissembled his resentment; and though he would not allow the bull to be intimated to him in form, he gave the legates to understand that they were at liberty to obey the pope's order. Clement afterwards, by way of reparation, revoked the censures by a new brief, and prolonged the term of the citation till Christmas.

Herbert.
Barnet.

Strange conduct of cardinal Wolsey.

All those who were acquainted with Henry's disposition dated the disgrace of the cardinal from this æra; and indeed he had, through the whole of this process, behaved with such langour and indifference as cannot be easily explained, when we consider how much it imported him to gratify his
master

master in this interesting affair. Perhaps he was A. C. 1529. unwilling to incense the emperor beyond a possibility of reconciliation, in case the affairs of Europe should take a new turn: perhaps he secretly hated Anne Boleyn, as a dangerous rival in the king's favour, or a proselyte to the doctrine of Luther; or he was actuated by some obscure motive of personal dislike. Great men are often influenced by low passions and prejudices, which they are ashamed to avow. Certain it is, the emperor left no stone unturned to ruin the cardinal in the king's opinion; he was at pains to circulate reports invented for the purpose of his destruction; and, by means of his emissaries, Henry received copies of letters, disapproving the divorce, which the cardinal was said to have privately written to his holiness. On the other hand, Anne Boleyn imputed the miscarriage of the divorce to the backwardness with which Wolsey had acted in the affair; and her resentment was proportionate to the greatness of her disappointment. Her father, now created lord viscount Rochfort, had removed her from court during the process, in order to avoid scandal; but when the commission was vacated, she returned at the king's desire. After all this provocation, Henry kept his temper with surprising equanimity; and, when the two cardinals waited upon him at Grafton, received them with his usual complacency. Wolsey was closeted for a considerable time, and dismissed with seeming kindness; and all the courtiers, who hated him in their hearts, still behaved towards him with the usual respect and appearance of veneration.

Henry, in order to amuse his impatience, and divert his chagrin, made a progress through some counties; and, in his return, lay at Waltham Cross, in the house of Mr. Cressy. This gentleman had committed the education of his two sons

A. C. 1529. to Thomas Cranmer, a doctor in theology, who had been professor at Oxford, and lost his office on account of his being married. He was eminent for his learning, piety, and moderation; and secretly favoured the doctrine of Luther, whose books he had read in Germany. At supper he was desired by Fox and Gardiner to give his sentiments of the divorce; and, being pressed on the subject, he proposed that the king should procure the opinions of all the universities, theologists, and civilians of Christendom; who would either judge the dispensation of pope Julius II. valid, or insufficient: if valid, the king's conscience would be at ease; if insufficient, the pope could never venture to declare himself against the opinion of all the able men in Christendom. When this proposal was communicated to the king, he testified his satisfaction, by exclaiming, "Aye, now we have the right sow by the ear." He desired to hear it from Cranmer's own mouth, and was so pleased with his conversation, that he commanded him to follow the court, and ever after consulted him in all emergencies. On the king's return from this progress, he sent a message to the cardinal, demanding the great seal, which he at first refused to deliver; but, Henry writing to him next day, he gave it to the dukes of Norfolk and Suffolk, and it was offered to Warham, archbishop of Canterbury, who had formerly been chancellor; but, he declining the offer, on account of his great age, it was given to Sir Thomas More, who had signalized himself for his learning and integrity.

Expedient
proposed by
Cranmer.

Sir Thomas
More created
chancellor in the
reign of
Wolsey.

Campejus
quits the
kingdom.

Campejus not a little alarmed at this prelude to Wolsey's fall, took leave of the king, in order to return to Italy; and Henry expressed no displeasure at parting with that prelate. Before he embarked in person, the custom-house officers rummaged all his baggage, on pretence of searching for contra-

band

band goods; though it is supposed they acted by A. C. 1529. the express directions of the king, who wanted to seize the decretal bull, not knowing that it was already committed to the flames. When the cardinal complained of this insult, as an outrage committed against a legate of the holy see, Henry told him, That the officers had done their duty: That he was surprised at his assuming the character of legate, after his power and commission had been revoked; and still more surprised, that, being bishop of Salisbury, he should be so ignorant of the laws of the land, as to assume that quality without the king's permission. Campejus, intimidated by this answer, thought himself extremely happy in being allowed to depart without further molestation.

On the ninth day of October, Hales, the attorney-general, presented an information in the king's-bench against the cardinal, accusing him of having violated the statute of premunire. He confessed the indictment, pleaded ignorance of the statute, and submitted himself to the king's mercy. He was declared out of the king's protection, his goods and chattels were forfeited to the king; and his palace of York-house, afterwards known by the name of Whitehall, was seized for his majesty's use; together with all the rich furniture and wealth he had amassed. Humbled by this reverse of fortune, he petitioned the king for a protection for his person, which he immediately obtained, with a free pardon. He was restored to the enjoyment of the archbishopric of York and see of Winchester; he retrieved of his own effects to the amount of six thousand pounds in furniture, money, and plate; and received divers kind messages from the king and Anne Boleyn: so that Henry's aim at this juncture was to humble the pride, but not ruin the fortune, of his old favourite. These favourable sentiments, however, were not of long duration:

*Wolsey's
disgrace and
dejection.*

A. C. 1529. tion: his enemies now prevailed at court, and brought into the house of lords an impeachment of high treason, in four and forty articles; importing, That he had abused his legatine power, acted tyrannically in the office of chancellor, expedited divers orders of the utmost importance, and executed treaties without the king's knowledge and concurrence; behaved despotically on many occasions, more like an eastern sovereign than an English minister; practised extortion, bribery, and all manner of corruption; sought to equal, and even prefer himself, to his majesty, by writting in orders and instructions, *Ego et rex meus*, I and my king; and endangering his sovereign's health by breathing upon him, and whispering in his ear, when he knew himself deeply infected with the venereal distemper. These articles passed in the house of lords, which was filled with his enemies; but, when the bill was carried down to the commons, Thomas Cromwell, a member of that house, who had been the cardinal's domestic, defended him with such strength of argument, that no act of treason could be proved against him; and the prosecution was dropped. The cardinal manifested very little fortitude under his misfortune: he became abject and disconsolate; and, at length, sickened in consequence of such repeated mortifications. The king's tenderness seemed to revive when he heard of Wolsey's distemper; he had formerly sent him a torquoise ring, as a testimony of his protection, which the cardinal received upon the road to Winchester. He was so affected with this instance of the king's goodness, that he alighted from his horse, and fell upon his knees in a transport of joy. Henry now sent him another present of a ruby, by his physician doctor Butts, who assured him his highness was not angry with him in his heart, and that he should in a little time be convinced of his affection.

This

This kind message contributed in a great measure to the recovery of the cardinal, who supplicated and obtained the king's permission to live, for the benefit of the air, at Richmond-house; which he had formerly received in exchange for Hampton-court.

A. C. 1529
Hollingshed,
Herbert,
Burnet.

While the attention of the English court was engrossed by the affair of the divorce and the disgrace of Wolsey, Francis, seeing no other prospect of retrieving his hostages from the hands of the emperor, resolved to effect an accommodation with that power, and set on foot a private negotiation for this purpose; while he amused the Venetians, the Florentines, and the duke of Ferrara, with the promise of marching into Italy at the head of a powerful army. Perhaps he would not have found Charles so well disposed for peace, had not he been influenced by the preparations of the Turks for invading Hungary and Austria, and the commotions of the protestants in Germany. Thus threatened, he affected great moderation. The articles being privately discussed, the emperor's aunt Margaret, gouvernante of the Low Countries, and Louisa of Savoy, mother to the French king, repaired to Cambray, where they signed the treaty of peace; importing, That the emperor should, for the present, wave his demand of Burgundy: That the king of France should pay two millions of golden crowns for the ransom of his children; withdraw his troops from Italy; cede to Charles the sovereignty of Flanders and Artois; restore the county of Asti, with all that he still maintained in the dutchy of Milan; renounce all pretensions to the kingdom of Naples; espouse queen Eleanor, the emperor's sister; and re-establish the heirs of the late duke of Bourbon in possession of all the estate of that family which had been confiscated. The king of England being privy to this negotiation,

Treaty of
peace be-
tween the
emperor and
Frenchking.

A. C. 1529. was satisfied with a single article, by which Francis engaged to pay five hundred thousand crowns, which the emperor owed to Henry ; and to relieve a jewel, which Philip, the emperor's father, had pledged to Henry VII. for the sum of fifty thousand crowns. Henry behaved with great generosity on this occasion ; for he not only freely remitted the payment of the five hundred thousand crowns, but presented the jewel to his godson Henry, second son of Francis. At the same time a treaty of commerce was concluded between England and the Low Countries.

Gu'cciardini.
Mezerai.
Du Bellay.

A. C. 1530.

Affairs of
Italy.

The emperor, having agreed to the principal articles of the peace, took shipping at Barcelona, with nine thousand men, and arrived at Genoa in August ; when the peace of Cambray being published, the Venetians, the Florentines, the dukes of Milan and Ferrara, finding themselves abandoned by France, were obliged to submit to the emperor. The discussion of their affairs was referred to a conference between Charles and the pope at Bologna, where all their different ambassadors attended. There the emperor decreed, that the Venetians should restore Ravenna and Cervia to the pope ; and to himself some places which they still occupied in the kingdom of Naples. Francis Sforza was put in possession of Milan, on condition of paying a large sum to the emperor. The dispute between the pope and the duke of Ferrara was left to the arbitration of Charles ; but that between his holiness and the Florentines could not be accommodated. They were determined to spend their lives in defence of their liberty ; which, nevertheless, they offered to purchase with a sum of money, but the pope insisted upon their receiving the house of Medicis as their sovereign ; and, as they rejected this proposal, the emperor ordered the prince of Orange to besiege their city. Charles, having thus settled his

his

his Italian concerns, returned to Germany, where the protestants called aloud for a general council, with the promise of which the emperor had flattered them during the war; but, at his conference with the pope, he had undertaken to reduce them, without gratifying this their desire. They had lately engaged in a league for their own defence; and this association alarmed Charles to such a degree, that he hastened from Bologna, after having received the imperial crown from the hands of his holiness. Mean while, the prince of Orange lost his life at the siege of Florence, which capitulated on condition of being permitted to preserve its liberty, though the emperor was impowered to regulate the form of the government. But, in a few days, the partizans of the house of Medicis exciting a tumult in the city, the administration reverted to pope Clement; the emperor established his son in-law, Alexander de Medicis, on the same footing which his ancestors had gained, and rendered the sovereign power hereditary in his family.

The king of England still laboured to procure the divorce, in the prosecution of which he had met with such difficulties. The queen had been for some time removed from court, where Anne Boleyn appeared in great splendor, governing Henry by her nod, and receiving incense from the English nobility. Cranmer wrote a book in favour of the solicited divorce, and afterwards accompanied two ambassadors to Bologna, where they had audience of the pope and the emperor. Clement expressed a desire of giving the king satisfaction; but he durst not act without the consent of Charles, who declared he would never abandon the cause of his aunt queen Catherine. About the same time Henry sent learned men to consult the foreign universities; and those of Paris, Angers, Bourges, Orleans, Tholouse, Bologna, Ferrara, and Padua,

Henry consults foreign universities touching the divorce.

A. C. 1530. unanimously agreed that the dispensation granted by pope Julius II. being contrary to the law of God, the marriage of Henry with Catherine could not be valid. The English universities subscribed to the same opinion, though not without great opposition from the masters of arts, especially at Oxford; and a warm contest at Cambridge. This opposition arose from those who were averse to the Lutheran doctrine, which they were afraid would gain ground under the countenance and protection of Anne Boleyn.

Burnet.

His nobles
and prelates
send a sharp
remonstrance
to the pope.

Henry, finding his application to the pope ineffectual, prevailed upon his chief prelates and nobility to send a sharp remonstrance, by way of letter, to the pope; in which, after having mentioned the obligations his holiness owed to the king, the decision of so many learned universities, and the little regard which had been payed to them at the court of Rome; they gave him to understand, that, should he refuse to do justice in the affair of the divorce, they would conclude themselves abandoned by the see of Rome, and seek for other remedies. To this letter, which was signed by cardinal Wolsey, the metropolitan of Canterbury, four bishops, two dukes, two marquises, thirteen earls, two viscounts, three and twenty barons, two and twenty abbots, and eleven commoners, the pope wrote an answer to justify his conduct. His apology was so far from being admitted, that Henry, in order to anticipate any step that might be taken by Clement in favour of Catherine, or the cardinal, issued a proclamation, forbidding all persons whatever to purchase any thing from Rome, or elsewhere, that should be contrary to his royal prerogative; or to divulge any thing of that nature, on pain of incurring his indignation, and the penalties specified in the statute of provisors and premunire. Then he ordered some learned men in the kingdom to collect

lect, compare, and publish, all that had been or could be alledged in favour of the divorce, including the opinions of the universities, and a particular answer to a book, which Fisher, bishop of Rochester, had written in defence of the marriage.

Herbert,
Burnet.

Cardinal Wolsey continued still fluctuating between hope and despair. He had, in the beginning of his disgrace, been reduced to great necessity, from which he was relieved by the bishop of Carlisle; but afterwards his affairs seemed to take a more favourable turn. He received a full pardon, considerable appointments, and kind messages from the king; and was permitted to sit among the peers in parliament; though he had the mortification to see a bill pass, confirming his own forfeitures to the king; and, among others, his college at Oxford, which Henry afterwards founded in his own name. The cardinal seemed more afflicted at the fate of his college, than at any other circumstance of his misfortune. He wrote to the king in the most humble strain, begging the foundation might be permitted to stand: he sent a pathetic letter on the same subject to Cromwell, who had by this time insinuated himself into the king's confidence; but no regard was paid to his importunity. At length, Anne Boleyn, and the rest of his enemies, thinking him too near the king, while he resided at Richmond, obtained an order for his removing to his archbishopric of York. He obeyed this command, though not without great reluctance; and retired by slow journeys to Cawood, attended by a retinue of one hundred and twenty horsemen. Upon the road he distributed his alms and benediction with great liberality; and now, for the first time in his life, began to be popular, the people crowding to see him, and ask his blessing, as he passed through the country. Not that he had intirely laid aside the thoughts of worldly grandeur. He

Cardinal
Wolsey re-
tires to
York.

A. C. 1530. intended to be installed, according to the antient custom, with great solemnity ; and began to make preparations for this ceremony, all access to the choir of York being forbidden, until it should be performed.

He is arrested
for high-
treason.

While he was thus employed for the gratification of idle vanity, his adversaries exerted themselves so industriously, that, before the day of installation, he was visited by the earl of Northumberland, warden of the Marches, and Sir Walter Welch, a gentleman of the king's privy chamber, who arrested him for high-treason, together with one Augustine his physician, who was immediately conveyed to London in the most ignominious manner. Wolsey betrayed marks of fear and disorder when the earl signified his errand ; but, recovering his spirits a little, protested he would not yield until he should see his commission, which the other refused to produce ; yet, at sight of Welch, he complied with the king's pleasure, because he knew his person and office. Having been indulged with some time to prepare for his journey, he set out for London with an heavy heart ; and by the way, was delivered by Northumberland to the care of the earl of Shrewsbury, steward of the household, who told him he was commanded to use him respectfully, as one whom the king highly favoured ; and assured him, that though his highness found himself obliged to bring him upon his trial for the satisfaction of some particular persons, he did not entertain the least doubt of his integrity. Such was the dejection of the cardinal, that his spirits and resolution failed him even after these assurances. He moved very slowly, and stayed a whole fortnight at Sheffield castle, where he was seized with a dysentery. Here he was joined by Sir William Kingston, captain of the king's guard, and constable of the Tower, who came, attended with
four

four and twenty yeomen of the guard, who had A. C. 1530. been formerly the cardinal's servants. He saluted him on the knee with a very gracious message from the king, who desired he would make no more haste than stood with his health and convenience. But whether Wolsey was conscious of having been engaged in some clandestine transactions with the emperor and pope, which he feared would now be discovered, or apprehended that his adversaries were bent upon his destruction, which they would be able to effect, he remained disconsolate, notwithstanding all those encouraging addresses; and his distemper gained ground. Nevertheless, he proceeded on his journey, until he arrived at Leicester-abbey; where, feeling his end approaching, he sent for Sir William Kingston, and spoke to this effect: "Had I served God as diligently as I have done the king, he would not have abandoned my grey hairs: but this is my just reward. I pray you commend me most humbly to the king, desiring him to remember all that hath passed between us about queen Catherine; and then his grace may determine whether or not I have given just cause of offence. He is a prince of royal courage; but, rather than be thwarted in his pleasure, will run the risque of losing one half of his realm. I have often kneeled before him three hours successively, to dissuade him from his will and appetite, and could not prevail: therefore, master Kingston, if ever you be of his council, deliberate seriously upon what you intend to advise; for, once he sets his heart upon any thing, he is not to be diverted from the pursuit." Then he discoursed upon the state of religion, wishing his majesty might take heed of the Lutherans, by the example of those of Bohemia, lest the secular power should be subverted by their practices. In the prosecution of this discourse

his

Herbert.
Cavendish.

A. C. 1530. his speech failed him ; and, in a little time he expired. He was privately buried in the abbey ; and though the king seemed afflicted at his death, he did not fail to make enquiry about fifteen hundred pounds, which he had lately borrowed from different persons, to defray his necessary expences. Such was the fate of cardinal Wolsey, a churchman of some parts, intolerable pride, and unmeasurable ambition, who had by his intrigues raised himself to such a pitch of power and grandeur, as no other ecclesiastic under the degree of pope had ever possessed.

State of the
reformation
in Ger-
many.

By this time the reformation had taken deep root in Germany, although the emperor had banished Luther and all his adherents. In the year that succeeded this decree, the diet assembled at Nuremberg, produced one hundred articles of grievance against the court of Rome ; and demanded satisfaction by means of a free council. The same demand was made in a subsequent diet, and opposed by a decree of the catholics assembled at Ratisbon. In a third diet held at Spire, it was decreed, that the emperor should be intreated to convoke a general council in Germany ; and in the mean time, that every person should enjoy liberty of conscience. Charles finding himself on the eve of a peace with France, ordered a diet to be assembled in the same place, where it was ordained, that no innovation should be made in religion ; and the electors of Saxony and Brandenburgh, the Landgrave of Hesse, and the princes of Lunenburg, protesting in the most solemn manner against this decree, their party acquired the name of Protestants. The emperor being incensed at their presumption, resolved to crush them effectually ; and for that purpose convoked a diet at Augsburgh, before which the protestants demanded permission to declare their belief. This favour being refused, though they were permitted

permitted to deliver it in writing, the landgrave of Hesse retired without taking leave of the emperor, who ordered the gates to be shut for detaining the rest of that persuasion ; but they were opened again at the intreaty of the elector of Saxony. After obstinate debates, the diet enacted a decree against the protestants, who nevertheless, were amused with the hope of a general council. When the diet broke up, the emperor convoked the electors to choose his brother Ferdinand king of the Romans. This convocation was strongly opposed by the reformers, who represented the inconveniencies that would attend the design of rendering the imperial dignity hereditary in the house of Austria. Finding their remonstrance on this subject altogether disregarded, they assembled at Smalcalde, where they concluded a defensive league against all those who should attack them on the score of religion ; and made a formal protest against the election of a king of the Romans.

Sleidan.

The protestant religion had a great number of favourers in England, where the writings and sermons of Wickliff and his followers had long ago begun to open the eyes of the people, who were besides oppressed by the pope's authority, and scandalized by the lewd and immoral lives of the last pontiffs who had sat in the chair of St. Peter. They wanted nothing but an opportunity to free themselves from this shameful bondage. Henry, being well acquainted with their disposition, resolved to renounce all papal jurisdiction ; and, in the affair of the divorce, stand to the award of his own parliament and clergy. For this purpose, the first was assembled on the sixth day of January ; and at the same time, the clergy met in convocation. The session of parliament was opened by the chancellor, who declared, that the king's desire of seeing the marriage dissolved was not actuated by carnal motives,

A. C. 1531. motives, as some malicious people alledged, but suggested by scruples of conscience, and zeal for the good of his kingdom, that the succession to the throne might not be disputed at his decease. Then he produced a great number of books and treatises written by the ablest divines and casuists of Europe, on the subject of the divorce, with extracts of divers authors antient as well as modern ; and the decisions of the universities of France, Italy, and England. These were left on the table for the perusal of the members ; and in the mean time the king imparted his designs to the convocation of the clergy, who unanimously declared that his marriage was contrary to the law of God. This instance of complaisance, however, did not exempt them from a prosecution with which they had been threatened by his majesty. Cardinal Wolsey had been convicted of exercising the legatine power in England without a special licence from the king, and of giving away benefices in that capacity, contrary to the statutes of provisors and premunire ; consequently, those who acknowledged his authority, were accessory to his transgression. This was the case with the whole body of the clergy, who were accordingly accused of having violated the laws of the kingdom. Such a prosecution answered Henry's purpose in two respects. It not only furnished him with a pretence for extorting a large sum of money, but also humbled the clergy in the eyes of the people ; and rendered them more dependent upon his pleasure. In vain they pleaded, that the king himself had consented to the cardinal's exercising his legatine power. They were convicted of the crime laid to their charge, and all their effects confiscated, to the inexpressible satisfaction of the subjects in general, who had long groaned under ecclesiastical tyranny. The clergy seeing how low their credit was among the people, and the little regard which
the



THOMAS Lord CROMWELL.

the nation payed to papal authority, resolved to submit, and implore the king's pardon, for which they agreed to present him with one hundred thousand pounds sterling. A committee of the convocation at Canterbury being appointed to draw up this act and petition, some individuals in the interest of the court, proposed, that in this public act, the clergy should own the king as protector and supreme head of the Anglicane church. This proposal at first met with great opposition; and the consideration of the affair was referred till their next meeting, when, by means of archbishop Warham, Thomas Cromwell, and others of the council, it was agreed, that the king should be stiled supreme head of the church, as far as was agreeable to the law of Christ. The convocation of the clergy in the province of York resolved also, to present his majesty with eighteen thousand eight hundred pounds; but, as in the act they did not own the king's supremacy, they were given to understand, that their present would not be accepted; and they thought proper to follow the example of the other convocation.

Herbert.

The English clergy acknowledge the king as supreme head of the church.

Henry being satisfied with this acquisition of power, indulged them with an ample pardon: but, the commons refused to pass the bill, unless the laity, who might be liable to the same prosecution, should be comprehended. The king being informed of this obstacle, sent a message to the commons, importing, that he was resolved to be master of his own favours, which he would never grant upon compulsion; and the house dreading his displeasure, passed the bill without further opposition. Then he indulged the laity with an act of amnesty, which did not, however, include colleges and monasteries; for, these were afterwards obliged to pay for a composition. The pope was now in such an embarrassed situation, that he did not know what

Act, Pub.

course

A. C. 1531. course to follow. He by this time had fallen off from the emperor, who had decided against him in the affair of Ferrara. He saw Germany threatened with an invasion by the Turks, the Roman catholic religion endangered by the progress of the reformation; and an intimate union still subsisting between the kings of France and England: he therefore resolved to wait in silence for a more favourable opportunity of retrieving his influence with the English nation. Henry, mean while, prorogued the parliament, and ordered the decisions and writings in favour of the divorce to be printed and published, that all his subjects might understand the case before the next session. As he passionately desired to obtain Catherine's consent to a separation, he sent several bishops, and lay noblemen to persuade her to wave her appeal; and, when they pressed her to refer the cause to the decision of four ecclesiastics, and as many seculars, she said she would pray to God to send the king a quiet conscience; but, she was his lawful wife, and would abide by her right, until the court of Rome should declare the contrary. Henry finding her obstinacy insurmountable, desired she would choose her residence at any of his manours; and she answered, that to what place soever she should be removed, she could not be removed from the station of his wife. She first repaired to Moore, then to Easthamstead, and afterwards to Ampthill.

Queen Catherine removed from court.

END of the FIFTH VOLUME.







Cleaned & Oiled

April 1989



